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Public Administration Review

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THE JOURNAL OF THE AMERICAN SOCIETY FOR PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION

The American Society for Public Administration

To Advance the Science, Processes, and Art of Public Administration

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IN THIS NUMBER

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Public Administration Review is intended to promote the exchange of ideas among public officials and students of administration. The various views of public policy and public administration expressed herein are the private opinions of the authors; they do not necessarily reflect the official views of the agencies for which they work or the opinions of the editors of this journal.

Woodrow Wilson As Administrator

By HENRY A. TURNER

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DECEMBER 28, 1956, marks the centennial of the birth of Woodrow Wilson, one of our most versatile Presidents. Few Presidents have made so many significant contributions in such a variety of areas and have had such multifold interesting facets in their personalities. Wilson, the sixth president of the American Political Science Association, is known as an outstanding political scientist for his *Congressional Government, The State,* and *Constitutional Government in the United States,* and his numerous political essays. He is recognized as an historian for his *History of the American People* and *Division and Reunion.* His presidency of Princeton University and his literary efforts on educational topics won him acclaim as an educator. The reforms enacted under his leadership as Governor of New Jersey marked him as one of the outstanding Governors of his generation. Because of the domestic legislation enacted during his administration, his leadership during World War I, and his advocacy of the League of Nations, he is regarded as one of our greatest Presidents.

In 1889—before Wilson was known as an educator, long before his actions as Governor of New Jersey and President of the United States had brought him fame—Professor Herbert Baxter Adams of Johns Hopkins University told a group of his students that society would greatly benefit from the contributions Woodrow Wilson would make in the field of administration.[1] Professor Adams undoubtedly felt that he had ample basis for expressing that belief, for in 1889 Woodrow Wilson was a promising scholar in the most recently recognized field of political science—public administration. In this article an attempt will be made to determine Wilson's place in the historical development of public administration.

Pioneer in the Study of Administration

WILSON'S interest in administration was an outgrowth of an early developed general interest in politics and government. While Edmund Burke undoubtedly was more influential than any other person in shaping his political philosophy, Walter Bagehot, more than anyone else, turned Wilson's thoughts to administration and comparative government studies.[2] In 1879 Wilson, then a senior in Princeton, wrote an article entitled "Cabinet Government in the United States," which gave evidence of the effect of Bagehot's work, *The English Constitution.* This article, published in *The International Review,* presented for the first time some of Wilson's basic political and administrative ideas. He stated that strong executive leadership and close cooperation between the executive and the legislature were necessary if government was to be efficient, energetic, and responsible. According to young Wilson, this form of government could be established in the United States by abolishing the separation of powers and adopting a modification of the British form of government, requiring the President to choose his Cabinet from the members of the two houses of Congress. Wilson envisioned several administra-

[1] Seminar Records of Professor Adams, November 8, 1889, by the secretary, T. Iyenaga. The Johns Hopkins University Library. "'Through the instrumentality of the scholar,' Dr. Adams continued, 'great improvement is to be made in society, as Dr. Gould is doing for tariff reform, Dr. Shaw for municipal reform, and Dr. Wilson for the reform in administration.'"

[2] The influence of Burke and Bagehot on Wilson can hardly be overstated. Years later Colonel Edward House wrote in his diary that Wilson spoke of himself as a "disciple of Burke and Bagehot," and that Wilson was always quoting "one or the other." Charles Seymour, ed., *The Intimate Papers of Colonel House* (4 vols.; Houghton Mifflin Co., 1926-28), I, 121.

tive advantages that would result from the adoption of cabinet government. With the Cabinet members serving in the dual capacity of administrative heads of the executive departments and legislative leaders in Congress, more intelligent and purposeful legislation would ensue. Furthermore, under cabinet government the needs of the departments could be met more "adequately and understandingly." But more than that, as the department heads would be members of the legislature, Congress could, through questioning them and debating administrative matters, not only check the conduct of the administrative agencies more effectively but also educate public opinion more fully on matters of public policy. At the same time, the administrative heads, as active participants in the debates, would be able to protect their departments from unjust and irresponsible criticism.

After graduating from Princeton University, Wilson completed work for a law degree at the University of Virginia and opened a law office in Atlanta, Georgia. But after one unsuccessful year, he enrolled in Johns Hopkins University to prepare himself for a college teaching position. A month after enrolling he wrote that he hoped to continue the "line of study" that had been his

> . . . chief amusement and delight during the leisure hours for the past five or six years, namely, studies in comparative politics. I have looked into the administrative machinery of England and our own country enough to get a pretty good insight into them, and it was my strong desire to make a similar study of the national governments (as perhaps also of the local governmental machinery) of France and Germany.[3]

Wilson immediately became engrossed in his new work, and a few months after he entered Johns Hopkins he published an article, "Committee or Cabinet Government?" and began work on his first book, *Congressional Government*.

Early in 1885, shortly after the publication of *Congressional Government*, Wilson turned his attention to what he termed the "science of administration." "The Study of Administration," which is the first significant evidence of this interest, was not published, however, until over two years later, in June, 1887. This essay is one of the more original of Wilson's political works. While his book, *Congressional Government*, and his earlier essays proposing the adoption of cabinet government in the United States were based to a large extent on the writings of Bagehot and others, "The Study of Administration" seems to have been inspired by no other discourse of a similar nature. The ideas, however, which he expressed in "The Study of Administration" are based primarily on conclusions which he drew from his reading,[4] for when Wilson wrote this essay he had had no actual personal observation of governmental operations.[5] When he began his studies in administration, he stated: ". . . If I wrote *Congressional Government* without visiting Washington, much more can I write upon the science of administration without doing so."[6]

There is evidence that Wilson's views changed considerably from the time that the preliminary drafts of the essay were written until the finished document was published. He first entitled the essay "Notes on Administration," then changed it to "The Art of Governing," and finally to "The Study of Administration."[7] Wilson's changing views on administration may be seen by observing that in "Notes on Administration" he wrote, "I suppose that

[3] Wilson to Ellen Axson, October 16, 1883, quoted in Ray Stannard Baker, *Woodrow Wilson: Life and Letters* (8 vols.; Doubleday, Page & Co., 1927-1939), I, 174.

[4] It is, of course, impossible to determine exactly what Wilson had read prior to writing this essay, but in his lecture notes for his course in administration he included a bibliography in which he listed six books by German authors and seven books by French authors which had been written prior to 1887, the date that "The Study of Administration" appeared. These lecture notes are in the Woodrow Wilson Collection in the Library of Congress. Hereafter cited Wilson Collection.

[5] Wilson was possibly influenced and stimulated by Professor Richard T. Ely who had recently returned from studying in Germany. During the second term of 1884-85 Ely lectured on administrative methods in England, Germany, and France. Johns Hopkins University Circular, July, 1885, Baltimore. "When I talked of the importance of administration," Ely later wrote, "I felt that I struck a spark and kindled a fire in Wilson." Richard T. Ely, *Ground under Our Feet* (Macmillan Co., 1938), p. 114.

[6] Wilson to Ellen Axson, January 22, 1885, quoted in Baker, *op. cit.*, I, 259.

[7] The earlier drafts of the essay are in the Wilson Collection. "The Study of Administration," was published in 2 *Political Science Quarterly* 197-222 (June, 1887).

no great discoveries of method are to be made in administration." But in the final draft of the article, "The Study of Administration," he stated that ". . . administrative study and creation are imperatively necessary. . . ."

In a true sense Woodrow Wilson was a pioneer in the study of administration in the United States. His article, "The Study of Administration," is regarded as a significant trail-blazing effort; and even before the article was published, Wilson's teaching of administration had received recognition. In 1886 Professor Adams invited Wilson to give a three-year sequence course in administration at Johns Hopkins. Wilson continued this course as a visiting lecturer for ten years,[8] although during that time he moved from Bryn Mawr College to Wesleyan University and from there to Princeton University. During the first three years that Wilson taught at Princeton, he gave a course in administration in which he used the lectures that he gave in the first year of his three-year course at Johns Hopkins.[9] Wilson's role as a pioneer is evidenced by the fact that at the time he taught administration at Princeton and Johns Hopkins only two other schools in the United States offered courses in that subject.[10] And at the time the first American textbook in administration had been written, Woodrow Wilson had been giving lectures in the field for six years.[11]

Wilson quickly gained a reputation as an authoritative lecturer, and at least one scholar requested his aid in preparing a course in administration. Wilson's reply to Professor Albert Bushnell Hart who had requested this assistance indicates the breadth of material which he covered in his course:

> I wish that my Johns Hopkins University lectures on Administration were of such a character, and in such a shape as to be of service to you in your preparation of a course in Government and Administration. But my course of this year, for the most part, as it was, being the first portion of a three years' course, was general in character and had no specific or systematic reference to our own administrative arrangements. It concerned, rather the general, theoretical questions of administrative science. Next year and the year after I shall get down to concrete systems and practical discussions. In the next place, I never write out a lecture, so that I have merely skeleton notes. These would be themselves at your disposal should you care for them in any case.[12]

Woodrow Wilson thus made an auspicious beginning in the field of administration. The acclaim which he received from his contemporaries might have been expected to act as a spur to further achievements, but he did not follow his early successes with extended teaching or subsequent writing. He discontinued his course in administration at Princeton after teaching it only three years and his course at Johns Hopkins after ten years. Although two of his later books, *The State* and *Constitutional Government in the United States,* and some of his essays contain elements of his administrative thought, Wilson devoted no work, after "The Study of Administration," solely to this topic.

Administrative Practices and Contributions

WILSON's first opportunity to test his administrative ideas presented itself in 1902 when he was chosen president of Princeton University. His first years in this position were marked by singular success, and under his leadership outstanding achievements were made. He formulated and executed plans that reorganized the academic and administrative structure of the university, changed the method

[8] Adams explained that the arrangement was "for twenty-five lectures each year, without repetition." Quoted in W. Stull Holt, ed., *Historical Scholarship in the United States, 1876-1901: As Revealed in the Correspondence of Herbert B. Adams* (The Johns Hopkins Press, 1938), pp. 87, 99. See also letter from Adams to Wilson, June 4, 1890, Wilson Collection.

[9] The course is listed in the Princeton catalog of 1890-91 as follows: "Administration. Lectures and collateral reading. Two hours a week. . . . Senior elective and open to Graduate Students." The course was listed in the Princeton catalogs for the four academic years, 1890-94, but according to Wilson's grade books in the Library of Congress, the course was taught only the first three of those four years.

[10] Anna Haddow, *Political Science in American Colleges and Universities, 1636-1900* (D. Appleton-Century Co., 1939), pp. 180, 181, 187, 194, 195. The schools were Columbia University and the University of Pennsylvania.

[11] The first textbook in administration was Frank J. Goodnow, *Comparative Administrative Law* (2 vols.; G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1893).

[12] Wilson to Albert Bushnell Hart, May 22, 1891, Wilson Collection. This letter suggests that Wilson might have had considerable influence upon the scope and content of early courses in administration.

of instruction, raised the standards of scholarship, reorganized the faculty, and materially increased the wealth of the university. But largely because of his uncompromising attitude in later controversies over his quadrangle and graduate college plans, much opposition developed. As a result, these years of initial success were followed by a period filled with defeat and frustration for Wilson during which most Princetonians were divided into extremely partisan pro-Wilson and anti-Wilson groups.

These controversies, however, helped to make Wilson a nationally known figure and were indirectly responsible for his election as Governor of New Jersey in 1910. He served only two years of his three-year term as Governor, resigning February 28, 1913, to become President of the United States. But measured by any standard he made a notable record. As Governor he demonstrated his determination to practice at the state level the theory of executive leadership that he had developed to be applied to the national government. He supervised the drafting and passage of a legislative program of social reforms which marked him as one of the nation's most successful state executives. He then attempted to reorganize the state's administrative system, and at the time he left the gubernatorial chair, he was advocating the writing of a new state Constitution that would have provided New Jersey with a parliamentary type of government.[13]

As President of the United States, Wilson—utilizing many of the political techniques, institutions, and methods which he had learned—came near to achieving for the Presidency the power and influence that he believed permanently desirable. He revived the practice of delivering presidential messages in person to the Congress.[14] He instituted the first regular press conferences and actively entered the field of opinion management. With the exception of Jefferson, he utilized the party caucus more than any of his predecessors to obtain united party support for his legislative program. In strict conformity with his earlier developed theory of executive leadership, he exerted influence at every stage of the legislative process. He planned the legislative programs.[15] He and his assistants took an active part in drafting bills.[16] After bills were introduced, he used various means to secure their adoption. Largely owing to Wilson's efforts more constructive legislation was passed during his Presidency than under any other President from George Washington to Franklin Roosevelt.[17] For six years Wilson led and controlled Congress in a manner without precedent. But when the Democrats lost control of Congress in the election of 1918, he lost the most important instrument through which he had exercised his leadership.

The legislation enacted under Wilson's leadership during the early years of his Presidency, as well as his procedure for executing the duties of the office, have had deep and lasting effect upon the administrative institutions and practices of the nation. One of the most important results of his Presidency was the tremendous growth in the activities of the federal government. During the war years the number of administrative personnel increased to an unprecedented magnitude; and while administrative activities decreased after the war, the government never again contracted to its prewar size. Under Wilson the perennial centralization movement was accelerated. Laws were passed which, on the one hand, increased the scope of federal administrative activity at the expense of the states and, on the other, extended governmental authority over areas previously not regulated. To illuminate the ex-

[13] Henry A. Turner, "Woodrow Wilson and the New Jersey Legislature," 74 *Proceedings of the New Jersey Historical Society* 21-49 (January, 1956).

[14] When Wilson delivered his first message to Congress on April 7, 1913, he broke a precedent established by Jefferson one hundred and fifteen years previously.

[15] Postmaster General Albert S. Burleson later wrote: "For six years we invariably put through those programmes as outlined by Woodrow Wilson." Albert S. Burleson to Josephus Daniels, February 19, 1926, Ray Stannard Baker Papers, Library of Congress. Hereafter cited Baker Papers.

[16] Wilson was the first President to insist that the Chief Executive and his subordinates should have the prerogative of drafting substantial numbers of legislative measures and that Congress should enact them virtually as drafted. Norman J. Small, *Some Presidential Interpretations of the Presidency* (Johns Hopkins Press, 1932), p. 178. Mr. Small states that in other administrations Cabinet members ". . . presented in committee rooms the completed drafts of legislative proposals of their Chief Magistrates; but doubtlessly because of a fear that Congress would resent too strongly this usurpation of its duties, the practice was not frequently resorted to."

[17] Henry A. Turner, "Woodrow Wilson: Exponent of Executive Leadership," 4 *The Western Political Quarterly* 97-115 (March, 1951).

tension of federal governmental authority to spheres formerly reserved to the states one need merely cite the Federal Reserve Act which placed state banks indirectly under federal control, the National Defense Act of 1916 which made the state militias adjuncts of the United States Army, or any one of the measures providing for grants-in-aid to the states, such as the Federal Aid to Roads Act, the Smith-Lever Act, or the Smith-Hughes Act.[18] To illustrate the expansion of governmental control over areas previously not regulated, one may note the Federal Trade Act, the Clayton Anti-Trust Act, the La Follette Seaman's Act, the Federal Transportation Act of 1920, and the Federal Power Act.

Another development in Wilson's Presidency which affected administration was the great increase in the number of independent agencies in the federal administrative system. At the time he took office, the Civil Service Commission and the Interstate Commerce Commission were the only two independent commissions, and the Panama Railroad was the only government corporation in existence.[19] During Wilson's Presidency numerous commissions, boards, "administrations," and government corporations were created. Of these, the Federal Trade Commission, the Tariff Commission, the Federal Power Commission, and the United States Shipping Board became permanent parts of our federal administrative structure. Although many of the other independent establishments were wartime emergency organizations and were short lived, they served as important organizational models for agencies created to combat the depression and to prosecute World War II.

In 1908 Wilson had written that the Cabinet should be "an executive, not a political body." When he became President, he adopted a slightly modified form of his early theory. He chose no one member of his Cabinet simply because he desired his advice on political questions; however, various political considerations helped to determine the choice of several of his department heads. Wilson also selected his appointees with a view toward representing the different geographical sections within the nation. Administrative reasons bulked large in his selection of Cabinet personnel; in every department Wilson appointed at least one of his top officials because of his "special fitness for the great business post"[20] to which he had been assigned.

The degree of autonomy Wilson allowed the heads of the several executive departments varied from time to time and from department to department. Wilson allowed his Secretaries of State very little discretion in conducting foreign affairs; and during the war, he kept in close contact with the Secretaries of the War and Navy departments. At times he worked closely with the Secretary of the Treasury, and occasionally with one or two of the other Cabinet members. But with these exceptions, Wilson gave his Secretaries a large degree of freedom in the administration of their departments.

In determining the degree of control that he should exercise over his Secretaries, Wilson made a distinction between broad questions of administrative policy and questions of internal management. Although he gave his department heads much freedom in both spheres, it was understood that the larger questions of policy were to be determined by Wilson in consultation with department heads, whereas most managerial questions were to be left to the discretion of the individual Cabinet officers. David F. Houston, who was in Wilson's Cabinet for eight years, later wrote:

> I took it for granted that he wished me to assume all the responsibility that my judgement warranted me in assuming, and that he wished me to trouble him as little as possible; and it did not ever take many words of explanation to convey to his mind what was needed. Many matters were quickly covered in Cabinet meetings.[21]

[18] Seven statutes providing for grants-in-aid were enacted during Wilson's administration—only one fewer than the total number enacted under all preceding Presidents. Leonard D. White, *Trends in Public Administration* (McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1933), pp. 29, 33-48.

[19] *Ibid.*, p. 171. The First Bank of the United States was the only other government corporation which had been created to perform public functions.

[20] Woodrow Wilson, *Constitutional Government in the United States* (Columbia University Press, 1908), p. 76.

[21] Houston to Mrs. Woodrow Wilson, April 1, 1925, Baker Papers. Josephus Daniels, who served as Secretary of the Navy throughout Wilson's administration, wrote: "From the inception Mr. Wilson gave the members of his Cabinet free rein in the management of the affairs

An inquiry into Wilson's personnel policies as President reveals a lack of conformity between his early administrative theories and his later administrative practices. Throughout his Presidency, he was faced with the dilemma of reconciling political exigencies with his desire to place the right man in each position. Wilson had consistently held that the merit of a government would be largely determined by the intelligence and competence of its personnel and that the use of the public service for party patronage was demoralizing; but a number of his appointments can be explained on no other grounds than political expediency. While he had espoused the theory that public employees should have tenure during effective service and good behavior, a large number of federal employees were dismissed during the first two years of his administration.[22] Wilson had long been an advocate of civil service reforms and for the two years immediately preceding his election as President he had been a vice-president of the National Civil Service Reform League; nevertheless, during his Presidency he initiated few personnel reforms in the federal government. Wilson's most noteworthy contribution was the extension of the merit system to first-, second-, and third-class postmasters.[23]

Had Herbert Baxter Adams reviewed Woodrow Wilson's achievements at the time of the President's death in 1924, he would have been proud of the accomplishments of his former student and colleague, but he undoubtedly would have been forced to the conclusion that his prediction made thirty-five years earlier had not been fulfilled. For while Wilson had introduced into the government of the United States innovations which had far-reaching administrative implications, still he had not wrought the "reform in Administration" that Adams had predicted. As President of the United States, Wilson urged that the federal administrative structure be reorganized, and he succeeded in securing the adoption of the Overman Reorganization Act which was drafted under the direction of one of his former students, Secretary of War Newton D. Baker.[24] He evinced considerable interest in efficiency and economy in governmental operations and worked for the adoption of a national budget system,[25] but no great administrative reforms are connected with his name.

Impact of Personality and Circumstances on Administrative Theory and Practice

The inconsistencies so evident in Wilson's personality and in his administrative career make a definitive evaluation of Wilson as an administrator exceedingly difficult. The lives of few Presidents have been submitted to such close scrutiny with such generally unsatisfactory results. That he is without doubt one of the most paradoxical and enigmatic individuals ever to grace the American political scene is testified by the conflicting interpretations of his personality.[26] No attempt will be made here to reconcile or justify previous interpretations of Wilson's personality. However, the similarities and parallels so obvious in Wilson's three administrative positions suggest that certain traits of emotion and temperament must be recognized in order adequately to appraise his administrative theory and practice.

An obsession for leadership shaped many of Wilson's thoughts and actions. From his youth, Wilson was fascinated by the phenomena of political power and he consciously strove to develop faculties and qualities which he be-

of their departments. No President refrained so much from hampering them by naming their subordinates. Holding them responsible, he gave them liberty, confidence and cooperation." Quoted in Josephus Daniels, *The Life of Wilson* (The John C. Winston Co., 1924), pp. 139-40.

[22] In view of the long absence of the Democrats from power, however, the number of Republicans replaced by Wilson's followers was not excessive.

[23] Wilson ordered that the individual with the highest civil service rating be selected for each position.

[24] Frederick Palmer, *Newton D. Baker, America at War* (2 vols.; Dodd, Mead and Co., 1931), II, 82.

[25] Wilson vetoed the Budget and Accounting Act of 1920 because he believed the section providing for the Comptroller General to be removable only by a concurrent resolution of the two Houses of Congress to be unconstitutional.

[26] Compare the eulogistic accounts of Joseph Tumulty, *Woodrow Wilson as I Knew Him* (Doubleday, Page and Co., 1921) and Ruth Cranston, *The Story of Woodrow Wilson, Twenty-eighth President of the United States. Pioneer of World Democracy* (Simon and Schuster, 1945) with the bitterly critical accounts of Robert Edwards Annin, *Woodrow Wilson: A Character Study* (Dodd, Mead & Co., 1924) and William Bayard Hale, *The Story of a Style* (B. W. Hueback, Inc., 1920).

lieved would enable him to gain a position of leadership. Wilson's theory of executive leadership—a theory which he borrowed from the British parliamentary system—was more than a mere political precept: it was a basic element of his philosophy and it was founded on his desire for leadership.

Complementing Wilson's obsession for commanding was a desire for logical and orderly arrangements which gave him a compulsion for reorganizing. He attempted to reorganize the formal relationships of practically every social group with which he came in contact. During his life he wrote some fourteen constitutions, varying in importance from charters for debating clubs to the Covenant for the League of Nations.

Superior intellectual capacity was one of the assets which enabled Wilson to achieve success.[27] Both as an administrator and as a politician his brilliant intellect and his power of sustained concentration proved of immeasurable value. His penetrating insight and his keen imaginative powers were the instruments with which he prepared his plans and organized his forces. He had an acute analytical mind which could reduce the most involved problems into their component parts, and his intellectual approach—that of seeking basic principles or underlying causes—enabled him to strike directly at the heart of perplexing problems. Wilson was essentially logical, orderly, and methodical both in formulating and in executing policy. He laid his plans with the care and precision of an engineer constructing an intricate machine and he executed those plans with the drive, energy, and single-minded purpose of a religious reformer.

Although Wilson is generally considered to have had a creative mind, the plans which he formulated were usually not original but were an assimilation and reorientation of ideas with which he came in contact. Burleson once remarked: "He did not originate. He organized."[28] He had the ability to synthesize plans and ideas and to organize the forces necessary to carry these plans to fruition. Thus, while Wilson is justly credited with the establishment of such institutions as the Federal Reserve system and the League of Nations, it has been for his skill in translating ideas into actuality rather than for his creative thinking that he has received credit.

Although few of our Chief Executives have been Wilson's intellectual peers, he possessed a number of mental traits that seriously handicapped him as an administrator. He had a single-track mind, and occasionally he became extremely interested in one program to the detriment of others. His memory was at times faulty, which accounts for some of his contradictory statements and his insistence that the maximum amount of administrative details be conducted via letters and memorandums. Wilson was quick to anger and slow to forget an offense. In addition, he was capable of strong prejudices that warped his otherwise good judgment, and he found it difficult to work with persons who had openly opposed his policies.

Perhaps Wilson's greatest weakness as an administrator was his inability to manage and manipulate men. His idealism, his sincere desire to serve mankind, and his normal courteous and considerate treatment of his subordinates won the loyal undying support of many who worked with him,[29] but his inability to conciliate those who opposed his policies caused many potential supporters to become bitter antagonists. While Wilson wielded great power from the rostrum, he lacked the personal magnetism of Theodore Roosevelt and Franklin Roosevelt. Among intimate friends he was engagingly warm and entertaining, but with strangers he was occasionally self-conscious, aloof, and reserved.

Wilson's religious convictions had pervasive implications for his administrative behavior. "No one can understand Woodrow Wilson," wrote Ray Stannard Baker, "without knowing his deep religious foundations."[30] Wilson inherited from his ancestors a tradition of teaching and preaching the Presbyterian faith, and

[27] Charles E. Merriam once stated that he ". . . found Wilson a man of amazing capacity, insight, and an amazing facility to make an estimate of a cause." Walgreen Lecture, University of Chicago, April 13, 1948.

[28] R. S. Baker, Memorandum of an interview with Albert S. Burleson, March 17, 1927, Ms. in Baker Papers.

[29] One need only talk with some of the men who worked with Wilson to sense the loyalty and devotion which he inspired in many of his associates. Bernard Baruch, for example, told the author that "my entire life was changed upon working with Mr. Wilson." Interview, June 22, 1948, New York City.

[30] Baker, *op. cit.*, I, 49.

he was reared in "the stern Covenanter tradition."[31] His apparent belief in predestination and his implicit faith in Divine Providence are reflected in the air of confidence, calm assurance, and inevitability with which he viewed his plans and career. On one occasion he wrote: ". . . I believe very profoundly in an overruling Providence, and do not fear that any real plans can be thrown off their track."[32]

The rock on which many storms of controversy broke was basically Woodrow Wilson's belief that his policies were the only righteous ones and must be executed without compromises. "I have a Conscience that is my Boss," Wilson informed his Secretary of the Navy. "It drives me to the task and will not let me accept tempting invitation."[33] Louis Brownlow has suggested that the sincerity of Wilson's religious convictions leads one to the conclusion that Wilson did not decide on a policy and then seek the means to justify it as the righteous one, but that he actually sought the righteous course, and then determined it to be the only right and moral course.[34]

The author believes that Wilson's desire to pursue the righteous course is the clue to the enigma that enshrouds his personality. If this hypothesis is correct, it explains Wilson's proclivity for viewing those who opposed his plans as either ignorant or lacking in moral integrity, his unwillingness to compromise if he felt "principles" were involved, the urgency and inevitability with which he viewed his plans, and his propensity for viewing matters of policy in terms of right or wrong. Wilson's sense of moral righteousness contributed to his dynamic masterful leadership. A question which inevitably comes to mind, however, is whether a person with the temperament of a religious crusader is the best type of individual to entrust with vast political power.

Until after the turn of the century Wilson was an avowed Hamiltonian in his administrative and political philosophy and a nineteenth century liberal in his economic thought. Although Wilson was born a southern Democrat, he was a Federalist by nature and by training. Moreover, Wilson gathered most of his political, administrative, and economic ideas from reading the works of the eighteenth and nineteenth century British publicists and statesmen rather than from personal observation and analysis,[35] and it was their ideas that provided the basis for his nineteenth century liberalism.[36] Throughout his life Wilson's administrative philosophy continued to be basically Hamiltonian.[37] But in the first decade of the twentieth century his political and economic convictions underwent a transformation, and he emerged a twentieth century liberal and a militant advocate of the political principles of Thomas Jefferson.

Wilson's organic evolutionary theory, derived primarily from Edmund Burke, provided the philosophical approach to politics which enabled him to adjust his political and economic views when he became aware that his theories were not attuned to the times. During his academic years Wilson's philosophy—which held that states were living organisms which

[31] Wilson's father, one of his grandfathers, and a great uncle were all Presbyterian clergymen, as were the father and grandfather of his first wife. He once stated that "the stern Covenanter tradition that is behind me sends many an echo down the years." Daniels, *The Life of Wilson*, p. 28.

[32] Wilson to Mrs. Mary A. Hulbert, January 7, 1912, quoted in Baker, *op. cit.*, III, 258.

[33] Daniels, *The Life of Wilson*, p. 27.

[34] Interview with the author on July 23, 1948, Washington, D. C. Secretary Houston upon retiring after eight years in Wilson's Cabinet wrote the President: "I have had no doubt at any time of the principle by which I should be guided. I knew that the principle was the one by which you yourself are guided. I have known you too long and been associated with you too intimately not to know that there is only one question in which you are interested, and that is whether a given course is right or wrong." David F. Houston, *Eight Years with Wilson's Cabinet* (2 vols.; Doubleday, Page & Co., 1926), II, 150.

[35] Although the lecture notes that Wilson used in his public administration courses show the influence of French and German writers, his administrative and political theory was shaped primarily by British scholars.

[36] As William Diamond has pointed out, the two main elements in Wilson's thought during his pedagogical years ". . . were a firm faith in historical conservatism and a belief in the social harmonies of individualism and competition . . . the one drawn from Burke, the philosopher of political conservatism, and the other from Adam Smith, the systematizer of economic liberalism." William Diamond, *The Economic Thought of Woodrow Wilson* (Johns Hopkins Press, 1943), p. 57.

[37] Wilson on several occasions acclaimed Hamilton's greatness. He stated early in 1910 that ". . . nobody could defeat Alexander Hamilton, whether he was in office or not, because he alone had the constructive programme; and they either had to submit to chaos or follow Hamilton." Quoted in Baker, *op. cit.*, II, 343.

take their form through slow accumulation—led him to oppose the policies of Bryan and other progressives. But after he joined forces with the progressives, this same organic theory enabled him to reason that since governmental forms had evolved to their present state it was logical that further changes should be adopted.[38]

Although the urgency of war is no doubt the primary factor contributing to Wilson's failure to take an active part in reorganizing the administrative system of the federal government, this political transition from Hamiltonianism to Jeffersonianism is another factor which must be considered. In his earlier days as a Hamiltonian he had concentrated his efforts on advocating a reorganization of the government in order to provide more effective leadership and more efficiency and economy in administration. But as Wilson gradually adopted Jefferson's political ideology, he came to believe that social reforms were more urgent.

Wilson's political and administrative philosophy was, therefore, a synthesis of Jeffersonian and Hamiltonian ideas. In strict Jeffersonian tradition he believed that the vitality of the United States lay in the rural communities, he opposed the concentration of wealth, and he made manifest his faith in the basic honesty and wisdom of the average person. But his administrative ideas continued to be Hamiltonian. He favored a centralization of governmental power, he believed that there was little to fear from strong executive leadership if it were held accountable, he advocated granting broad discretionary power to administrators, and he urged that administration should be allowed to share the direction of the social evolution through the initiation of legislative measures. Thus Wilson would use Hamiltonian means to effect Jeffersonian ends.

General Evaluation

ALTHOUGH three decades have elapsed since Woodrow Wilson left the White House, the full effect of his Presidency upon our administrative system cannot yet be definitively ascertained. While his contributions are for the most part obvious, certain of Wilson's policies and practices have subtle and yet pervasive administrative implications.

He led the Democratic party away from its former states-rights, laissez-faire position and forged it into the party of the service state—the party advocating positive governmental action for promoting the security and economic well-being of the people. He helped to shift the prevailing philosophy of the United States from economic liberalism—with its negative concept of liberty—toward the equalitarian liberalism of Jefferson. His New Freedom prepared the way for the New Deal of Franklin Roosevelt. Other Presidents have perhaps enjoyed more success in administering the office of the President along lines of efficiency and economy, but few of our Chief Executives have had a more profound effect on the scope and functioning of our national administrative system.

Thus, in determining Wilson's place in the historical development of public administration in the United States, one must make a broad interpretation of his influence and contributions. Woodrow Wilson's administrative theory and practice, when viewed in their proper perspective, must be ranked with his social reform program, his wartime leadership, and his advocacy of the League of Nations as foundation for his standing as one of our great Presidents.

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[38] Shortly before the end of Wilson's first term as President he wrote, ". . . I believe that the truest conservatism consists in constant adaption." Wilson to John B. Knox, October 30, 1916, quoted in Baker, *op. cit.*, VI, 111.

Approaches to the Solution of Fringe Problems: Preferences of Residents in the Flint Metropolitan Area

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THE rapid growth of population in the areas immediately adjoining metropolitan central cities during the past thirty-five years has created and progressively aggravated a host of problems of concern to central cities as well as to the residents of the so-called fringe areas. From the point of view of the latter, the problems may be summarily described as a general lack of adequate urban facilities. Despite the prevalence in the fringe of an urban type of settlement, sanitary sewerage and water facilities, sufficient police and fire protection, regular garbage and rubbish collections, recreation, public health, and other services are seldom available to more than a small fraction of the residents. While such deficiencies pose threats to the health and well-being of the central city population, the fringe problem from their point of view may also be that of inducing the residents of the fringe to accept some responsibility for maintenance of the municipal government of the core city.

The inadequacy of urban services in the fringe is in part due to the seemingly inevitable lag of capital improvements behind rapid population growth. Of even greater importance, however, is the fact that jurisdiction over the fringe area is shared by a miscellany of governmental units–cities, villages, counties, townships, and school districts–most of which are ill-adapted to the provision of urban services. Moreover, their number, diversity, and arbitrary boundaries complicate and more often than not defeat concerted efforts to effect the governmental changes necessary for the development of satisfactory solutions to current problems. Consequently, the problems have persisted, growing more serious with the accumulation of fringe population.

In this paper we shall explore the opinions of residents in the central city and in the fringe of one metropolitan area regarding the appropriate governmental agency through which solutions to fringe problems should be sought. We shall also present an analysis of the association of certain demographic and residential experience variables with expressed opinions.[1]

The particular metropolitan area under study has historically evidenced a general lack of interest in any cooperative approach to common problems on the part both of core city and of fringe officials. Much antagonism and suspicion has characterized their relations. It seems that each has sought, within his own domain, to preserve independent existence, even at the cost of inefficient service or, as in most instances in the fringe, no service at all. Thus, one aspect of this study is an attempt to deter-

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[1] Several other aspects of this problem are to be considered in later papers.

Table 1
Percentage Distribution of Preferred Solutions, by Place of Residence

Preferred Solution	*Total*[a]	*Place of Residence* *Central City*	*Fringe Area*
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
Annexation	19.0	20.9	9.1
Central city-township cooperation	44.9	46.9	28.4
County	7.3	6.8	16.6
Intertownship cooperation	6.0	4.3	14.9
Township	14.8	13.0	23.5
Other and no answer	8.0	8.1	7.5

[a] With city sample proportionately inflated.

mine if the position of the officials is, in fact, consistent with the wishes of the people.

The data for this report were gathered in the spring and fall of 1955, in a larger study of the relative advantages and disadvantages of residing in different parts of the metropolitan area of Flint, Michigan. Direct interviews were held with 670 household heads who constituted a random sample of the total population of the central city and the outlying area.[2] In order to obtain enough responses from fringe as well as central city residents for statistical purposes the fringe sample was inflated to 3.5 times its actual proportion of the total. Even so, the number of responses is too small to permit the depth of analysis desired in the problem under investigation. The descriptive findings, however, bear upon a widespread and critical practical problem; thus, it is felt that they have sufficient intrinsic interest to justify their presentation. Owing to the limited number of cases, it will be necessary to group the preferred solutions in logical categories when significant control variables are successively analyzed.

That there is a problem or problems is indicated by answers to a question concerning the services needed in the area. Only 10 per cent of the fringe residents replied that nothing was needed; another 8 per cent failed to answer the question. In the central city 22 per cent stated that there were no unfilled needs and another 18 per cent supplied no answer to the question. The existence of problems is also attested by the fact that not more than 8 per cent in either central city or fringe failed to suggest a procedure for the solution of problems.

In Table 1 are presented the preferred approaches to the solution of fringe problems stated by residents of the central city and of the fringe. Two-thirds of the central city residents are of the opinion that the best approach is through some kind of attachment of the fringe area to the core city, although 46.9 per cent favor a loose arrangement of township-city cooperation. On the other hand, 55.0 per cent of the fringe residents prefer some form of local action which does not involve a dependence on the central city; 31.5 per cent prefer a cooperative effort with other townships or that the county assume the responsibility for these services. Fringe residents show a much stronger preference for county action than do central city residents—16.6 and 6.8 per cent, respectively. Less than one-fourth of the fringe respondents feel that the solution to these problems should be approached independently by the individual townships. A substantial fraction, 37.5 per cent, however, look to the central city for aid in providing the urban services they need. Neither population includes many advocates of annexation: 20.9 per cent of the central city and 9.1 per cent in the fringe.

These results raise a number of questions. Do they, for example, reflect differences in the degree and kind of previous residential experience in the two sections of the metropolitan area? Or are they a consequence of differences

[2] The geographical limit of the sample area is less inclusive than the metropolitan area but extends beyond the urbanized area as defined by the Census Bureau. It includes approximately 75 per cent of the population of the metropolitan area.

Table 2
Percentage Distribution of Preferred Solutions, by Present Place of Residence and Type of Place of Previous Residence

Preferred Solution	*Central City*				*Fringe*			
	Farm	*Village*	*City*	*Natives*[a]	*Farm*	*Village*	*City*	*Natives*[a]
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Annexation	17.7	19.3	23.3	20.3	14.9	6.4	8.9	5.7
Central city-township cooperation	40.3	44.6	47.3	54.2	29.7	33.8	34.8	37.1
County	6.5	7.2	5.5	10.2	16.2	22.6	17.8	15.7
Intertownship cooperation	6.5	2.4	4.8	3.4	12.2	8.1	11.9	15.7
Township	17.7	18.1	15.0	1.7	22.9	19.4	16.8	22.9
Other and no answer	11.3	8.4	4.1	10.2	4.1	9.7	9.8	2.9

[a] Born in Genesee County.

in the kinds of people who live in the two sections of the metropolitan area? Answers to these questions will contribute to an understanding of the differences in approaches preferred by the central city and the fringe residents.

Previous Residential Experience

THE population of the Flint metropolitan area originated predominantly outside the locale. Five-sixths of the residents of Flint and four-fifths of the residents of the fringe zone were born outside of Genesee County.

It is apparent in Table 2 that the type of place of last previous residence before settling in the Flint area is associated with the solutions preferred. Among city of Flint residents, for example, the proportions favoring annexation and central city-township cooperation are lowest among those who came to the Flint area directly from farm residences; they rise through former residents of villages and cities; and they are highest among residents who were born in Genesee County. No complementing inverse trend is observable for any of the other remaining preferences, though the combined proportion for all other solutions declines, of course, as the extent of previous urban experience increases.

The extent of previous urban experience operates differently on the preferences of fringe residents. The proportion preferring annexation is highest among residents from farms and lowest among residents who are native to Genesee County. On the other hand, the pattern of preferences for central city-fringe cooperation corresponds to that observed among city residents. In general, fringe residents, regardless of their previous residential experience, are much less disposed to favor

Table 3
Percentage Distribution of Preferred Solutions, by Present Place of Residence and Years of Residence in Genesee County[a]

Preferred Solution	*Central City*			*Fringe*		
	Less than 5 Yrs.	*5-10 Yrs.*	*10 Yrs. and Over*	*Less than 5 Yrs.*	*5-10 Yrs.*	*10 Yrs. and Over*
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Annexation	6.3	25.0	24.1	17.9	12.8	7.9
Central city-township cooperation	56.2	32.1	44.4	38.5	33.4	30.8
County	4.2	7.1	6.5	5.1	25.6	20.9
Intertownship cooperation	10.4	3.6	3.2	10.3	12.8	11.0
Township	12.5	17.9	15.3	20.5	15.4	20.2
Other and no answer	10.4	14.3	6.5	7.7	—	9.2

[a] Does not include those who were born in Genesee County.

any kind of central city-fringe relations in the solution of metropolitan problems than are residents of the central city.

A second way of viewing residential experience is in terms of the number of years lived in Genesee County. Presumably, years lived in the county is a measure of the residents' opportunity to assess the situation and to arrive at a mature judgment. The effect of years of residence on the distribution of preferences, shown in Table 3, is similar to that of the extent of previous urban experience. The longer the duration of residence the more disposed are central city residents to prefer annexation and the less inclined are fringe residents toward that solution. Optimism over the promise of central city-fringe cooperation declines in both residential groups with added years of residence in Genesee County. The two groups differ again, however, in respect to their attitudes toward solutions unassisted by the central city, i.e., by county action or some form of joint or independent township action. The total of such preferences among city residents declines somewhat with time, whereas it increases with time among fringe residents. In short, it appears that the longer the period of residence in the area the less agreement there is between the central city and the fringe population as to how to proceed toward a solution of fringe problems.

Still another way of evaluating residential experience is with reference to whether the residents of the central city and the fringe have or have not lived in the opposite place. A considerable amount of movement takes place within the metropolitan area; 20 per cent of the central city residents have formerly lived in the fringe and 78 per cent of the fringe residents have formerly lived in the central city. It seems reasonable to expect that people who have lived in both places will, by virtue of their broader residential experience in the locality, express different preferences for solutions to fringe problems from those who have lived in one place only.

The data presented in Table 4 are interesting not only for what they reveal regarding the effects of previous residential experience, but also for the agreement disclosed in the views of the two populations. In each group of residents, those who have never lived in the alternate place are considerably more in favor of a solution involving some form of joint action by central city and fringe than are those who have lived in both places. And, conversely, residents who have lived in both places are more strongly inclined toward solutions through local action independently of the central city. Thus, 70.0 per cent of the city residents who have never lived in the fringe favor some kind of an attachment of central city and fringe as compared with 59.5 per cent of those who have previously lived in the fringe. Of the fringe dwellers who have never lived in the city, 50.0 favor a cooperative solution as against 33.8 per cent among those who have formerly lived in the city. Conversely, 57.2 per cent of fringe dwellers who have formerly lived in the core city prefer that the solution be found apart from it, whereas 47.6 per cent of those who have never lived in the core city so prefer. Among the city residents, one-third of those who have lived in the fringe favor action

Table 4
Percentage Distribution of Preferred Solutions, by Present Place of Residence and Previous Place of Residence in Genesee County

Preferred Solution	*Central City*		*Fringe*	
	Never Lived in Fringe	*Lived in Fringe*	*Never Lived in Central City*	*Lived in Central City*
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Annexation	22.3	15.9	11.9	8.3
Central city-township cooperation	47.7	43.6	38.1	25.5
County	5.6	11.6	14.3	17.2
Intertownship cooperation	4.6	2.9	11.9	15.9
Township	11.7	18.8	21.4	24.1
Other and no answer	8.1	7.2	2.4	9.0

Table 5
Percentage Distribution of Preferred Solutions, by Type of Previous Place of Residence, Present Place of Residence, and Previous Residential Experience in the Flint Metropolitan Area

Type of Previous Place of Residence and Preferred Solution[a]	Central City		Fringe	
	Never Lived in Fringe	Lived in Fringe	Never Lived in Central City	Lived in Central City
Farm	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
With central city	62.8	47.4	50.0	43.6
Without central city	20.8	52.6	50.0	51.6
Other & no answer	16.4	—	—	4.8
Village	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
With central city	75.7	56.2	46.7	38.3
Without central city	25.3	37.5	46.6	51.1
Other & no answer	9.0	6.3	6.7	10.6
City	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
With central city	72.0	61.9	56.0	39.5
Without central city	23.2	23.9	40.0	48.7
Other & no answer	4.8	14.2	4.0	11.8

[a] In this and succeeding tables the solutions have been grouped as follows: (a) "with central city" includes annexation and central city-township cooperation, and (b) "without central city" includes county, intertownship cooperation, and township alone.

independent of the core city but this proportion drops to about one-fifth among those who have never lived in the fringe.

The apparent effect of previous residential experience in the locality on the solution preferred merits special attention. The local political implications of these findings are a matter for interesting speculation, especially when it is remembered that over three-fourths of the fringe residents moved to their present location after having lived in the central city. Anyone engaging in such speculation, however, would be benefited by having at hand the results of a more intensive examination of the relationship between the two variables. Let us first consider the possible influence of former community of residence and years of residence in Genesee County on the association of previous residential experience in the locality with preferences for approaches to solutions of fringe problems.

When the type of place of residence occupied prior to migration to the Flint metropolitan area is used as a control, the results are as shown in Table 5. It is to be observed that the relationship of central interest at the moment remains unchanged: the proportions preferring solutions involving collaboration between central city and adjoining townships are substantially higher among residents who have never lived in the alternate part of the metropolitan area regardless of whether they had formerly lived on a farm, in a small village, or in a city. In other words, the pattern of preferences cannot be attributed to residential experiences acquired before coming to the Flint area.

Substitution of the length of residence in Genesee County for type of community of previous residence as a control, however, produces different kinds of results. As is observable in Table 6, residents of less than ten years in Genesee County are not significantly differentiated by previous residential experience in the locality so far as their preferred solutions are concerned. Apparently it is not until after ten years of residence in the area that the experience of having lived in both central city and fringe or of having lived in only one of the two places makes an appreciable difference in the types of solution preferred.[8] Among the long-time residents, those who have lived in

[8] It is noteworthy that most of residential changes across central city boundaries occurred among residents who have lived ten years or more in the county. Of the central city residents who have so moved, 91 per cent are in the ten-year-and-over group; and of the fringe residents, 76 per cent are in the ten-year-and-over group.

Table 6

Percentage Distribution of Preferred Solutions, by Years of Residence in Genesee County, Present Place of Residence, and Previous Residential Experience in the Flint Metropolitan Area

Years Lived in Genesee County and Preferred Solution	*Central City*		*Fringe*	
	Never Lived in Fringe	*Lived in Fringe*	*Never Lived in Central City*	*Lived in Central City*
Less than 10 years	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
With central city	60.6	60.0	53.1	50.0
Without central city	26.7	40.0	40.6	50.0
Other & no answer	12.7	—	6.3	—
10 years and over	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
With central city	72.2	57.7	50.0	37.1
Without central city	21.7	35.4	47.8	53.7
Other & no answer	6.1	7.8	2.2	9.2

Table 7

Percentage Distribution of Preferred Solutions, by Selected Characteristics of Head of Household and Present Place of Residence

Selected Characteristics	*Central City*				*Fringe*			
	Preferred Solutions							
	With Central City	*Without Central City*	*Other and No Answer*	*Total*	*With Central City*	*Without Central City*	*Other and No Answer*	*Total*
Total	67.6	24.1	8.3	100.0	37.4	55.0	7.6	100.0
Age								
Under 45 years	66.7	23.5	9.8	100.0	49.4	45.4	5.2	100.0
45 yrs. & over	68.7	24.6	6.7	100.0	34.3	57.1	8.6	100.0
Education								
Grade school	63.6	27.3	9.1	100.0	38.3	58.0	3.7	100.0
High school	65.4	26.4	8.2	100.0	43.8	48.1	8.1	100.0
College	82.5	12.3	5.2	100.0	50.0	38.8	11.2	100.0
Occupation								
Blue collar	66.2	26.5	7.3	100.0	43.0	53.2	3.8	100.0
White collar	77.7	17.1	5.2	100.0	44.9	50.7	4.4	100.0
Take-home pay								
Low	59.5	28.5	12.0	100.0	37.5	58.4	4.1	100.0
Medium	72.7	21.8	5.5	100.0	43.5	49.1	7.4	100.0
High	74.5	21.3	4.2	100.0	50.0	48.9	1.1	100.0
Size of household								
2 or less	67.9	21.1	11.0	100.0	37.2	55.2	7.6	100.0
3-4	69.7	25.2	5.1	100.0	43.8	48.6	7.6	100.0
5 and over	61.4	25.7	12.9	100.0	44.9	51.5	3.6	100.0
Composition of household								
Children under 17 years	65.7	26.3	8.0	100.0	44.6	48.7	6.7	100.0
Children 17 years and over	75.0	17.5	7.5	100.0	41.7	55.5	2.8	100.0
Couple without children	68.5	25.0	6.5	100.0	39.7	52.1	8.2	100.0
Single person	66.7	16.7	16.6	100.0	22.2	64.7	13.1	100.0

only one part of the metropolitan area are considerably more receptive to approaches involving joint action of central city and adjacent townships. And residents who have lived both in central city and in fringe evince a stronger preference for solutions based on township or county action exclusive of the central city.

Population Characteristics

The differences between the two residential groups in preferences for various approaches to solutions of fringe problems, noted in Table 1, may also be associated with various characteristics of households and of household heads. That this clearly is the case may be observed in Table 7. Although age of the head of the household appears to have no influence on the distribution of preferences in central city residents, it has a marked influence on the preferences of fringe residents. In the latter group young household heads, i.e., under 45 years of age, are more favorable toward joint action of central city and fringe than are household heads 45 years of age and over who more generally prefer approaches in which the central city is not a participant. Educational differences, however, have a similar effect in both residential groups. The higher the level of educational attainment the more frequent are preferences for annexation or cooperation of fringe with central city. White collar workers are also more inclined toward solutions involving the central city, though in the fringe population the difference between white and blue collar workers is small. Income shows a pattern of variation similar to that observed for education: the higher the take-home pay the greater is the preference for solutions involving both sections of the metropolitan area.

But the two residential groups diverge again when viewed from the point of view of size of household. The frequency of preferences for central city and fringe cooperation varies somewhat irregularly with size of household in the central city but directly with size of household in the fringe population. A possible explanation of these data is that small households in the central city have heads who are concentrated in ages 45 years and over, in white collar occupations, and in the upper educational and income levels, and that similar characteristics prevail among heads of large households in the fringe. Some confirmation of this possibility is suggested in the data for composition of the household. In the central city the highest frequency of preference for collaboration between city and fringe occurs in heads of households with children all of whom are 17 years of age and over, followed by households with no children residing in them. In the fringe, on the other hand, the greatest frequency of such preference occurs among heads of households who have children under 17 years of age, followed by households with children 17 years of age and over, and then by households with no children.

Previous Residential Experience Controlled by Characteristics of Heads

In view of the fact that preferences vary both with previous residential experience in the area and with the characteristics of household

Table 8
Percentage Distribution of Heads of Households, by Selected Characteristics and by Place of Residence

Selected Characteristics	*Central City*	*Fringe*
Age of head	100.0	100.0
Under 45 years	49.9	55.0
45 years and over	50.1	44.5
No answer	—	0.5
Education of head	100.0	100.0
Grade school	30.8	34.2
High school	51.6	59.0
College	16.4	5.8
No answer	1.2	1.0
Occupation of head	100.0	100.0
Blue collar	58.7	70.9
White Collar	26.7	22.0
Not working and no answer	14.6	7.1
Take-home pay per week	100.0	100.0
Under $75	23.8	23.0
$75-$149	52.7	59.4
$150 and over	5.1	6.1
Not working and no answer	18.4	11.5
Size of household	100.0	100.0
2 or less	30.3	24.9
3-4	50.4	46.7
5 and over	19.3	28.4
Composition of household	100.0	100.0
Children under 17 years	50.1	62.3
Children 17 years and over	11.3	11.5
Couple without children	30.0	23.3
Single person	8.5	2.9

Table 9
Percentage Distribution of Preferred Solutions, by Age of Household Head, Present Place of Residence, and Previous Residential Experience in the Flint Metropolitan Area

Age of Head and Preferred Solution	Central City: Never Lived in Fringe	Central City: Lived in Fringe	Fringe: Never Lived in Central City	Fringe: Lived in Central City
Under 45 years	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
With central city	70.7	52.6	54.6	47.7
Without central city	20.5	34.2	40.9	46.8
Other and no answer	8.8	13.2	4.5	5.5
45 Years and over	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
With central city	69.4	65.7	42.3	32.5
Without central city	23.1	31.2	57.7	57.1
Other and no answer	7.5	3.1	—	10.4

heads, there is the possibility that the association with one of the variables may be a function of its association with others. Table 8 shows that the compositions of the two populations of household heads differ. The heads residing in the central city are older, more highly educated, have smaller households, and have fewer complete family units with children of school age than do those residing in the fringe. The occupational and income compositions are rendered less comparable by the large numbers of central city residents who report no employment. It is clear from these data that the association of preferences with previous residential experience should be observed with the demographic characteristics of household heads controlled.

The relationship of previous residential experience within the locality to preferred solution with age of household head controlled is shown in Table 9. A first observation is that the effects of previous residential experience in the area on the distribution of preferences appears in both age groups and on both sides of the central city's corporation limits. Thus, the effects of never having lived and of having lived in the opposite place cannot be attributed to differences of age composition. Second, contrary to the data in Table 7 which indicated no important differences in the preferences of age groups residing in the central city at the time of the survey, a substantial difference does appear when those two age groups are sorted by previous residential experience. And, third, the largest differential effects of previous residential experience in the locality occur in the under-45-years-of-age group presently living in the central city and in the 45 years of age and over group presently living in the fringe.

When formal education of household head is used as a control, shown in Table 10, a very

Table 10
Percentage Distribution of Preferred Solutions, by Education, Present Place of Residence, and Previous Residential Experience in the Flint Metropolitan Area

Education and Preferred Solution	Central City: Never Lived in Fringe	Central City: Lived in Fringe	Fringe: Never Lived in Central City	Fringe: Lived in Central City
10 years or less	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
With central city	63.7	58.3	34.1	39.9
Without central city	27.8	36.1	61.0	52.9
Other and no answer	8.5	5.6	4.9	7.2
Over 10 years	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
With central city	76.3	57.6	70.4	41.4
Without central city	16.6	30.3	29.6	50.0
Other and no answer	7.1	12.1	—	8.6

Table 11
Percentage Distribution of Preferred Solutions, by Occupation, Present Place of Residence, and Previous Residential Experience in the Flint Metropolitan Area

Occupation and Preferred Solution	Central City: Never Lived in Fringe	Central City: Lived in Fringe	Fringe: Never Lived in Central City	Fringe: Lived in Central City
Blue collar occupation	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
With central city	68.0	56.8	46.7	40.3
Without central city	24.3	34.1	51.1	50.9
Other and no answer	7.9	9.1	2.2	8.8
White collar occupation	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
With central city	80.5	64.7	55.5	41.1
Without central city	15.6	23.5	38.9	55.0
Other and no answer	3.9	11.8	5.6	3.9

pronounced effect of previous residential experience is found among heads with more than ten years of education. Three-quarters of the central city households who have never lived in the fringe and who have at least ten years of schooling prefer solutions involving close cooperation between central city and fringe. But only 57.6 per cent of the central city heads of that education level who have lived in the fringe express such a preference. Among fringe household heads with ten or more years of education, almost three-quarters (70.4 percent) of those who have never lived in the central city favor annexation or fringe-city cooperation as against only 41.4 per cent of those who have lived in the central city. On the other hand, heads with less than ten years of education appear to be not so susceptible to the influence of previous residential experience. And among such household heads who reside in the fringe, the relation of previous residential experience in the locality with preference for solutions is reversed: those who have lived in the central city are more favorably disposed toward cooperation with the central city than are those who have not lived in the central city. It appears, then, that one factor responsible for the considerable effect of previous residential experience is the amount of formal education of the household head.

The effect of previous residential experience in the area on preferences relative to the solution of fringe problems is again found when the occupation of household head is used as a control. As shown in Table 11, in all groups heads who have not lived in the opposite place are more inclined to favor joint action with the central city and less attracted to some form of approach that does not involve the central city. The effect is greatest among white collar workers in both central city and fringe.

When income is used as a control, the re-

Table 12
Percentage Distribution of Preferred Solutions, by Weekly Income, Present Place of Residence, and Previous Residential Experience in the Flint Metropolitan Area

Weekly Income and Preferred Solution	Central City: Never Lived in Fringe	Central City: Lived in Fringe	Fringe: Never Lived in Central City	Fringe: Lived in Central City
Under $100	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
With central city	69.6	57.5	44.1	40.7
Without central city	23.3	30.0	53.0	52.6
Other and no answer	7.1	12.5	2.9	6.7
$100 and over	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
With central city	77.3	63.2	57.7	43.3
Without central city	18.7	31.5	38.5	49.2
Other and no answer	4.0	5.3	3.8	7.5

Table 13
Percentage Distribution of Preferred Solutions, by Size of Household, Present Place of Residence, and Previous Residential Experience in the Flint Metropolitan Area

Size of Household and Preferred Solution	Central City		Fringe	
	Never Lived in Fringe	*Lived in Fringe*	*Never Lived in Central City*	*Lived in Central City*
Fewer than 4 persons	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
With central city	69.4	61.9	50.0	36.0
Without central city	23.4	31.0	50.0	54.9
Other and no answer	7.2	7.1	—	9.1
4 persons or more	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
With central city	70.7	53.6	50.0	53.1
Without central city	19.8	35.7	45.0	40.0
Other and no answer	9.5	10.7	5.0	6.9

lationship which is under observation still pertains, as Table 12 indicates. The relationship is more pronounced, however, among household heads whose weekly incomes exceed $100.00.

Preference differences by previous residential experience in the locality appear in the now familiar pattern when the size of household is eliminated as a factor. Table 13 shows that in the case of both larger and smaller families, household heads who have never lived on the other side of the central city boundary consistently favor annexation or central city-township cooperation more frequently than do those who have lived on the other side.

But when composition of household is employed as a control, as in Table 14, the differential effects of previous residential experience appear to be largely a function of the presence in the household of children under 17 years of age. In households without school-age children the difference is either small or virtually nonexistent.

Conclusions

It has been observed that a considerable proportion of the population both within and beyond the corporate limits of the central city in the Flint metropolitan area favor some kind of joint action of city and fringe in the approach to fringe problems. Only a small minority of the total population in either area prefer that the problems be independently approached by the existing units of government. These views are not consistent with the policies that have historically been followed by their duly elected local officials. Nonetheless,

Table 14
Percentage Distribution of Preferred Solutions, by Type of Household, Present Place of Residence, and Previous Residential Experience in the Flint Metropolitan Area

Type of Household and Preferred Solution	Central City		Fringe	
	Never Lived in Fringe	*Lived in Fringe*	*Never Lived in Central City*	*Lived in Central City*
Households with *Children under 17 yrs.*	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
With central city	69.0	53.9	54.0	41.3
Without central city	23.6	35.9	42.0	51.1
Other and no answer	7.4	10.2	4.0	7.6
Households without *Children under 17 yrs.*	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
With central city	70.8	64.6	38.7	40.0
Without central city	20.4	29.1	53.1	60.0
Other and no answer	8.8	6.5	8.2	—

the isolationist policy of the officials does find substantial support from various segments of the population living in both areas.

Although present place of residence, i.e., central city or fringe, is closely associated with the type of solution preferred, other variables are related to the differences within the populations residing in each segment of the metropolitan area. Thus, the type of governmental approach to the solution of fringe problems preferred by residents in the central city and fringe differs by type of place of residence before moving to the Flint area, by years of residence in Genesee County, and by whether residents have or have not lived in both central city and fringe. The last factor has been given special attention because it seems to reflect a fundamental problem in the development of a metropolitanwide administrative solution. Apparently the fact of having formerly lived in the fringe on the part of those now residing in the central city, or of having formerly lived in the central city on the part of those now residing in the fringe, is an experience which seriously prejudices persons against any further dependence on the former place of residence.[4]

When this effect of previous residential experience in the area was submitted to a series of control variables, which had been found to be associated with preferred solutions, it remained unchanged in all but two instances among the fringe residents. Of those in the lower educational group and in households with no children under 17 years of age, previous residence in the city had little effect on the solution preferred. It seems that the prejudice resulting from having lived in the opposite place is concentrated mainly in household heads who (1) have lived in Genesee County for ten years or more, (2) have more than ten years of education, (3) earn $100.00 or more per week, (4) hold white collar positions, and (5) have children under 17 years of age living in their households.

Our data show that persons possessing these same characteristics are generally most likely to favor some kind of joint city-fringe action. Thus, it seems that the kind of persons who are most likely to favor joint action are also the ones who are most influenced, in respect to this solution, by having resided in the opposite place. It may be that such persons are acutely perceptive of the limited action feasible by the separate fringe municipalities, and therefore favor some form of joint action. However, living in the opposite place may have resulted in doubts as to the possibility of the two different areas getting together in an approach to these problems.

Another possible explanation, particularly for fringe area residents who have formerly lived in the city, is that these relatively high status persons, having children of school age, may be active leaders in the local independent school districts, and may oppose any form of integration with the core city since this would be a potential threat to the preservation of their power positions at the local level. It may be that persons possessing the same characteristics who are not directly related to the local school district because of family membership would differ in their preference for a solution to these problems. This, however, remains to be determined.

[4] In a separate analysis these differences were found to be not due to any fear of a tax increase.

Obtaining Administrative Personnel For Defense Agencies

By MILTON M. MANDELL

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I

ON March 20, 1951, nine months after the start of the Korean emergency, the United States Civil Service Commission announced to all federal employees an examination with the title of Federal Administrator for the purpose of identifying those with administrative ability at grades 12 and above for possible transfer to defense agencies. On May 23, the results of the examination of 4,700 competitors were made available to the defense agencies.

This was the first time that a government-wide promotion examination had been given. This was also the first time that the government had tried to identify on a systematic basis persons throughout the government with ability to fill a variety of administrative posts. In addition, this examination fulfilled in part the responsibilities of the commission to assist the defense agencies in meeting their staffing needs.

There is a wide interest in and a great need for extending competition for higher-level positions, broadening the experience of federal executives, and opening up career opportunities. The need is partly indicated by a study, conducted by the commission in 1955, among 800 government executives at grades 15 and above. Of these executives, 58 per cent had worked in only one federal agency; 44 per cent had worked in only one bureau of one agency.

The reports of the Hoover Commissions have indicted the federal government for its lack of progress in developing career opportunities. The task force of the first Hoover Commission reported that no planned, predictable promotion pattern existed, that the relative opportunity for promotion varied widely among agencies and locations, and that there were few planned efforts assuring that top positions would be filled by trained career employees. The task force recommended Civil Service and agency programs to identify able and promotable candidates.[1] The task force of the second Hoover Commission continued the indictment. It noted the absence of a system to discover managerial manpower and barriers affecting the free interchange of departmental and field employees.[2] The commission in its own report stated that little had been done to identify potential candidates for future top management jobs.[3]

The American Assembly has noted that the Civil Service Commission is hampered in its efforts to promote interagency transfers by lack of funds and authority—that it is entirely dependent on voluntary agency cooperation. It reports John Corson's summary of promotion methods: (a) "the cream always rises to the top"; (b) the "shoe-leather" shopping around approach; and (c) the "desk-to-desk" ascent of a narrow promotion ladder.[4]

[1] Personnel Policy Committee, The Commission on Organization of the Executive Branch of the Government, *Programs for Strengthening Federal Personnel Management* (Appendix A) (U.S. Government Printing Office, 1949), pp. 33, 40.

[2] Task Force on Personnel and Civil Service, Commission on Organization of the Executive Branch of the Government, *Personnel and Civil Service* (U.S. Government Printing Office, 1955), pp. 64, 70.

[3] Commission on Organization of the Executive Branch of the Government, *Personnel and Civil Service; A Report to the Congress* (U.S. Government Printing Office, 1955), p. 45.

[4] Everett Reimer, "Modern Personnel Management and the Federal Government Service," in *The Federal Government Service: Its Character, Prestige, and Problems* (The American Assembly, Graduate School of Business, Columbia University, 1954), pp. 173, 174.

II

THE examination to be described was an experiment, which the Korean emergency encouraged, to determine the value of one method for meeting the above objectives. Although the term examination has been used, the approach was quite different from that usually used in open competitive examinations. In order to expedite the process, only minimum qualifications and two written tests, administrative judgment and public affairs, were used as screening devices. The agencies were told that the additional screening methods needed, such as interviews and reference inquiries, should be applied by them to applicants who looked most promising. Because of the in-service nature of the examination, category rating was possible—two groups of applicants were referred to the agencies. Group I consisted of those in the top 13 per cent on the tests and Group II consisted of the next 12 per cent. In order to encourage applications, only a one-page employment history, rather than a full-length application blank, was required. Applicants in nondefense agencies were referred to all the defense agencies while those already employed in defense agencies were referred to their own agency only. Finally, this examination was considered only one of many sources that would be used in filling these positions.

A study conducted in 1952 by means of a questionnaire sent to those competing in the Washington area who had been placed in Groups I and II indicated that 46 per cent had been interviewed for jobs as a result of their application, of whom 16 per cent had been offered jobs and 9 per cent had accepted. It is relevant to point out, in interpreting these figures, that reductions in force in some of the temporary defense agencies started shortly after the list was established; also, the list was established after the peak of hiring was over.

The list was used as a major source by the Civil Service Commission's administrative placement unit until 1955 in filling administrative jobs. Placements from this source are not included in the above figures. Also, one major defense agency reported in 1952 that 29 per cent of its employees who had been successful in the examination had received promotions; only 16 per cent of those in the same grade levels who had not competed or who were unsuccessful had received promotions.

The questionnaire study in 1952 produced some interesting reactions from the applicants regarding this new approach for developing career opportunities on a governmentwide basis. The following quotations illustrate the range of comment, from commendatory to cynical, that was made:

> I appreciate the opportunity of taking the examination and think the career placement program is most worth while to the government and to the employees concerned. I would suggest that personal interviews with the more successful applicants be used in determining final grades, suitability for particular assignments, etc. Don't be discouraged if the defense agencies or the candidates seem unenthusiastic. It takes time for a worth-while program to acquire character and gain general acceptance.
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> . . . . .
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> I believe the exam, if nothing else, was a gesture by the executive branch in the direction of opening interdepartmental channels for recruiting and promotional activities. Even though this effort may not have been highly successful, I feel it made a notable contribution to the morale of many civil servants who do not, of their own initiative, go "door-bell ringing" . . . seeking advancements which may not otherwise come. It must have had an especially good effect on the morale of those employed in the field where there is no opportunity for such "door-bell ringing." . . .
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> . . . . .
>
> I must truthfully say that I am very skeptical about the use of this register by defense agencies, except in the event of actual hostilities. . . . In ordinary times positions at this level . . . are filled by friends. . . . Only in the event that these positions cannot be filled by friends . . . will recourse be had to the personnel office to contact the CSC for a register.

The defense agencies were generally enthusiastic about the examination. One agency reported:

> From a recruitment standpoint the list of employees of nondefense agencies had been extremely helpful. Almost every administrative person whose name was referred to us was called in for a personal interview. Approximately ten transfers from other agencies occurred as a result of these interviews. While this may not seem to be a large number of actions taken as a result of the examination, the . . . department feels that this process has brought to our attention the names and qualifica-

tions of a large number of potential candidates for future executive employment. It would seem to us that this examination is obviously a first step in establishing a real executive development program for the government as a whole.

III

ADDITIONAL data were obtained in a follow-up study conducted in 1955, primarily for the purpose of obtaining validity data for the written tests. Promotions received between 1951 and 1955 were the primary criterion. For 196 employees who had competed, employed in a wide variety of positions in five agencies, 77 had received promotions and 119 had not been promoted. The correlation between this criterion and scores on the administrative judgment and public affairs tests was .32 for each test. This correlation for the two tests is highly significant. Also, for 460 employees in a larger group of agencies, using as the criterion more rapid advancement compared with less rapid advancement, for each grade level separately, the average correlation with the administrative judgment test was about .50 and with public affairs about .40, both highly significant.

In addition to validity data, the 1955 study produced some interesting data, on a relatively small number of cases, relating to the staffing of defense agencies and career opportunities. Of 273 employees in five nondefense agencies who participated in the Federal Administrator examination, 40 transferred to other agencies —20 to defense agencies and 20 to nondefense agencies. Of the 20 who went to defense agencies, 2 were in the top group on the tests, whereas 10 of the 20 who went to nondefense agencies were in the top test group. If the tests are used as a criterion of quality, it seems that the defense agencies have attracted the poorer people. If this situation can be expected to be repeated in a time of future mobilization, it might indicate that defense agencies need to use thorough selection methods during an expansion in order to avoid hiring inferior employees who are willing to leave their present employment for actual or prospective higher grades.

During the past four years, 35 of the group of 273 studied have left the government. These 35 represent 10 per cent of those in Group I, 2.5 per cent of those in Group II, and 17 per cent of the bottom group. Again if the tests are used as a criterion of quality, it appears that the government lost in greatest degree the poorest employees and retained in greatest degree those employees who are neither the best nor the worst. The fact that the largest group leaving is in the poorest group is a tribute to the standards being used by agencies for promotion, but the much greater proportionate losses in Group I than in Group II suggest the need for better methods for identifying and promoting the most superior employees.

The use of the approach of the Federal Administrator examination to promote careers in the federal service and to identify persons with superior ability seems workable. Two regional offices of the Civil Service Commission have used the basic techniques of this examination on a regionwide basis for lower levels and for particular types of positions for which there are recurring needs. The method is not practical on a governmentwide basis unless the agencies are expanding or are willing, as they sometimes are in some occupational groups, to look outside their agencies regularly in filling higher-level positions. Meanwhile, the more informal methods of the commission's administrative placement unit have produced highly useful results in the same direction.

The follow-up studies indicate the need for a systematic basis for filling higher-level positions, either on an agency or governmentwide basis. Too often promotions are made on the limited basis of propinquity. The outstanding exception to this statement in the federal government is the Navy's well-known program for filling managerial positions in its shore establishments, a program now more than thirty years old. The need for such programs is well justified by the data here reported, which indicate a higher rate of turnover for those doing best in the Federal Administrator examination than for those in the second group.

Meeting the needs of rapidly expanding defense agencies is a complex administrative task. One sure conclusion can be made: the haste in staffing such agencies leads to errors which hurt the agencies throughout their existence. The mobilization planning now under way may reduce the errors that have previously been made. In any case, the Federal Administrator examination has contributed one additional method for meeting future needs.

Public Relations in International Technical Assistance

By ERIC CARLSON

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THERE is much that is useful in "Technical Assistance: A Challenge to Public Administration," the article by Albert Lepawsky published in the Winter, 1956, issue of *Public Administration Review.* The record will show, however, that Mr. Lepawsky is in error in his comments on the dubious value of public relations courses in international public administration training programs. This article is a rejoinder to this point, based primarily upon the author's experience in Brazil and in Central America.

Mr. Lepawsky remarks as follows:

> If we continue to encourage international public administration training programs to go in for new courses which cover some still-to-be-substantiated fashions of our system of administration in the U. S., we should not be surprised at occasional disappointment. One of the recent enthusiasms at the Brazilian School of Public Administration has been a course in public relations. I hope it is taught with discretion, for prudence would seem to suggest that this subject should be one of the last priorities for the improvement of public administration in this ebullient country. In all countries, including our own, the best public relations is effective relations with the public in rendering day-by-day services "over the counter"; important also is the periodic reporting of results to the public. But beyond this, "public relations" can readily deteriorate into propaganda. Public relations both inside and outside the government have not yet been put within sufficiently manageable bounds in the U. S. for us to urge this subject upon countries still striving to establish a solid foundation for their systems of public administration. (p. 28)

Earlier in his article Mr. Lepawsky inveighs against standardized and stereotyped technical aid programs for underdeveloped countries, urges the injection of "more variety and imagination into the patterned programs of public administration we are prescribing abroad," and points out that one of two major problems of public administration in underdeveloped countries "to which we ought constantly to address ourselves" is "historic distrust of governmental institutions despite a growing dependence upon government, and consequently . . . a widespread evasion of administrative authority. . . ." (p. 22)

Perhaps there is no contradiction between the views expressed. Let me comment, however, point for point, on the specific remarks directed against public relations as a concept and as a body of theory and techniques of indispensable value to public administrators in underdeveloped countries. Then, for purposes of general information, I shall trace briefly some aspects in the development of public relations as a tool both of private and of public management in the United States. Finally, I shall make a few observations about the general philosophy expressed in Mr. Lepawsky's article as a whole.

I

FIRST, the implication that the course in public relations at the Brazilian School of Public Administration is an "occasional disappointment" or that it is a "recent enthusiasm" is clearly refuted by the facts—reflected in the literature and reports of the school; by the influence and spread both within and outside of Brazil of the general theories and techniques advanced in the course; by the establishment of professional and research organizations devoted to public relations in Rio and in São Paulo; and, finally, by the recommendation of the International Seminar on Administration

and Training of Personnel for the Public Service, held in Montevideo in October, 1955, that public relations be included as a regular part of training programs in public administration.[1]

The writer initiated the first course in public relations at the Brazilian School (EBAP) in 1953, when he accepted a six-month contract with the United Nations Technical Assistance Administration for this purpose. The course was not "encouraged" or "urged" on EBAP by the UN or by any U.S. public administrator. It was one of those rare curiosities, a genuine expressed "felt need."

Technical assistance was requested for the course by the director of EBAP and the Getulio Vargas Foundation (which supports EBAP) because of the belief that Brazilian public administrators could derive great benefit from a clearer distinction between public relations and propaganda; that they could greatly improve their reporting techniques and "over-the-counter" services to the public; that they should understand more about the nature of communication and public opinion processes for both their "internal" and their "external" publics, and that they should be alerted to the concepts and techniques for working with citizen groups and encouraging citizen leadership and participation in government.

As indicated elsewhere, the course was well received and had considerable impact.[2] Lectures given before the Brazilian Management Association (IDORT) in São Paulo also resulted in stimulating interest and action.[3] The statement that the course is a "recent enthusiasm" is refuted by the fact that, "taught with discretion," it has been continued, improved, and deepened by such distinguished authorities as Harwood S. Childs, of Princeton University, and Neville S. Shepherd of the British Central Office of Information, who is currently the course professor. Several young Brazilians have been sent abroad, as prospective professors, for study and observation of public relations. There has been a notable increase since 1953 of in-service training courses in public relations for the employees of various ministries and other agencies in Brazil, several of which have established new public relations departments. The Brazilian Association of Public Relations, a professional society, was formed in 1954 in São Paulo, using as its headquarters the offices of the Brazilian Management Association, and expanding to include chapters in other states. In Rio de Janeiro, the Institute of Public Relations of the Americas was established recently, primarily for research and reference purposes; it uses as its secretariat the Brazilian School of Public Administration. Several municipalities have established new, well-oriented public relations departments; examples are Volta Redonda and Belo Horizonte. There have been other favorable developments. In short, it does not seem fair to say as an over-all evaluation that the results of the course have been "an occasional disappointment."

In other countries of Latin America, students who have participated in the course in Rio have returned to apply the material to practical projects and programs. As an example, one Costa Rican student returned to his home country to assist in the organization of the newly created National Institute of Housing and Planning. He recommended that a department of public relations be created, directly responsible to the manager. The recommendation was adopted, and the first employee engaged by the institute in late 1954 was the head of the Public Relations Department, the first such office by that name in the Costa Rican government. The results of the work of this department have been outstanding. Not only has the department been instrumental in securing widespread public understanding and acceptance of all aspects of the institute's rapidly progressing program, through an open-door policy of full cooperation with all media, citizens' groups, etc., but the department has been especially helpful by its attention to the insti-

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[1] On this latter point, see "Plan Modelo para Estudios Universitarios de Administracion Publica," 1 *ESAPAC, Boletin de la Escuela Superior de Administración Pública América Central.*

[2] In addition to "Public Relations in Administration," *Progress in Public Administration* (April, 1954), 1-2, cited by Mr. Lepawsky, see *Report, The Brazilian School of Public Administration and Its Activities in 1952 and 1953* (Rio de Janeiro: Getulio Vargas Foundation, 1954).

[3] See two articles in *IDORT* magazine, "O Papel das Relaçoes Publicas na Racionalizaçao do Trabalho" (October, 1953), and "As Responsabilidades de Relaçoes Públicas no Administraçao" (November, 1953). *IDORT* is published by the Brazilian Management Institute at Praça D. José Gaspar 30, 10 And., São Paulo.

tute's internal publics, including its own employees. Through a variety of devices, a strong *esprit de corps* has been developed—permeating the organization and being reflected in all of the institute's outside contacts and activities.

In Central America, as in Brazil, something of a chain reaction has taken place—clear recognition of the value of the subject matter of public relations in courses in public administration. Although public relations was not originally included in the program of the Advanced School of Public Administration for Central America (ESAPAC), the writer was asked to give some lectures on this subject upon his arrival to join the staff in July, 1954. Public relations has rapidly achieved an established place in the school curriculum.[4]

The Costa Rican government, which began its civil-service-sponsored training program in public administration in the fall of 1954 for its middle-level public officials, decided to include public relations as a regular part of the curriculum for these officials. Several ministries and other institutions later asked for and received special in-service training courses in public relations for their employees, and several new departments of public relations were established. A mature ESAPAC student in the first general course was named to head a new Department of Public Relations for the Ministry of Finance and Economy. The President's Office has shown interest in improving and coordinating the government's information and public relations services, a program currently in progress. The University of Costa Rica instituted public relations courses, taught by the previously mentioned graduate of the Brazilian School.

The National School of Public Administration in El Salvador, whose director had attended the first general course of ESAPAC, has also established a regular course in public relations as a permanent part of its curriculum. The chain reaction is continuing, now considerably aided by the fact that some materials on public relations in Spanish and Portuguese are beginning to become available.[5]

As for Mr. Lepawsky's comment, "prudence would seem to suggest that this subject should be one of the last priorities . . . ," it would seem to me that here we run head on into one of those areas of value judgment where personal or observed experience is likely to be the determining factor in the formation of one's opinion.

My own views are to the contrary, for several reasons. As has been mentioned, the public administration of most economically less developed countries faces a major problem in the historic distrust of governmental institutions. In Latin America this situation is accentuated because of the colonial heritage, with emphasis on strong central government and little self-determination by municipal and community institutions. There are, of course, great differences between countries, but generally access to the strong man's patronage or favor has traditionally counted for more than have the "established" procedures of governmental agencies. High rates of illiteracy, lack of self-confidence and group confidence, and sharp class divisions add to the difficulties of communication and administration in many countries. Widespread civic apathy and inertia are the rule, though conditions receptive for administrative improvement are being created through the explosive force of rapid urbanization and giant-city building. There is usually little concern for administrative continuity; the paucity of citizens' organizations and a sluggish public opinion offer few impediments to highly personalized government. Rarely is there impartial or knowledgeable press and radio coverage of administrative developments. Is it any wonder that cynicism and distrust have bred so freely?

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[4] In this course, conducted by Professor Mario García Arocha and the writer, extensive use is made of round table discussions that give the high-level Central American government officials who are the school's students ample opportunity freely to exchange their experiences and observations.

[5] See Eric Carlson and Mario García Arocha, *Nociones Fundamentales de Relaciones Públicas* (San José: ESAPAC, 1955). The book is currently being translated into Portuguese by the Brazilian School in Rio and is due for publication in revised form in Spanish in 1957 by a Mexican publishing house.

The Brazilian School has published the following in its pamphlet series on public administration: No. 1, *Relaçoes Públicas, Divulgaçao e Propaganda* and No. 3, *Publicidade Administrativa*, both by Benedicto Silva, and, No. 24, *Relaçoes Públicas no Governo Municipal*, by L. C. Hill.

Can any program for administrative improvement in an underdeveloped area ignore this type of situation? Can there be any doubt that priority *must* be given to public relations as a key instrument of management—for establishing effective communication within government, promoting citizen-government contacts based on understanding and confidence, and creating an informed public opinion with respect to objectives of government agencies at all levels? U.S. public administrators should not forget the vast communication web existing in their country, reaching into the smallest rural village; nor should they forget the generally high levels of education of U.S. citizens and the extent to which they automatically depend upon an informed public opinion for support of their administrative machinery and processes.

That key attention must be given to these public relations factors in less developed countries is recognized in the United Nations publication, *Standards and Techniques of Public Administration,* quoted by Mr. Lepawsky in another context.[6] On page 10 we find, "effective public administration requires a favorable political and public opinion. . . . There must be active and vigorous support for the improvement of public administration." Because, *"the public must be willing to pay the price in order to achieve the essentials of governmental reorganization, fiscal reform, and civil service improvement."* (italics mine)

On pages 11-12, the following appears:

> A sound system of public administration is solicitous about its relations with the public. The way in which government agencies come into contact with the citizen will determine the awareness of the people concerning their rights and obligations, the possibilities of public criticism or support, and the opportunities for complaint or redress of grievances against oppressive administrative actions. The opportunities and procedures for registering such complaints or seeking such redress and the methods by which they are handled by or get lost in the hierarchy of public administration are matters of vital importance to the average citizen. Just as important may be the system of governmental public relations by which policies are explained and procedures are clarified. If these matters are neglected, the citizen will feel deprived of his just opportunities and will remain singularly uninterested in efficient administrative operations which are deficient in giving him an elementary degree of recognition as an individual.

And on page 30:

> In fact one of the main needs of planning and development of this kind is widespread support among the public. Consideration might be given to the publication of explanatory material about the development plan at the appropriate stage in order to obtain public understanding and public support. A carefully devised public relations programme of this kind might also help to encourage the planning specialists who may lose faith in the planning technique unless their work is understood beyond their own specialized circles.
>
> Broad development plans in which there is wide understanding mean that citizens and authorities learn to look ahead, to weigh alternatives, to assess priorities, in short, to plan. Engineers, technicians and administrators within the government and outside get a more comprehensive view of their jobs, and their sense of responsibility and initiative for further planning grows. Private individuals and groups become informed about the government's intentions, and they begin to plan too, within the broader plan. . . .

Do not the above-quoted paragraphs provide the framework of the case for greater attention to public relations in public administration?

The fear that public relations can easily deteriorate into propaganda would appear to be another reason why public administrators currently in training should develop a clear understanding of the respective functions of and differences between public relations and propaganda. It is true that there has been widespread exploitation of modern methods of communication for demagogic and propaganda purposes in many Latin American countries. But the balance appears to be shifting. Large segments of the public have now received their inoculation against and are thoroughly immune to government propaganda—just as, in the United States, overexposure breeds contempt and determined resistance to many radio and television commercials. The important point is whether or not people pay attention to the propaganda. There is reason to believe

[6] Special Committee on Public Administration Problems, United Nations Technical Assistance Administration, *Standards and Techniques of Public Administration with Special Reference to Under-developed Countries,* ST/TAA/M/1 (November, 1951).

that they do not, and that they are distrustful of it.[7]

As with any body of knowledge, public relations can be used for "good" or for "evil." Modern civilization has evolved through faith in ourselves and faith in the fundamental decency of others. Should public administrators turn away from the use of techniques and practices that will tend to strengthen democratic government, and people's identity with it, because such techniques might be used for the wrong ends or "deteriorate into propaganda"? I think not. The consequences of failure to make democratic government objectives meaningful to the people in underdeveloped areas seem painfully clear. Moreover, it seems safe to say that effective public relations today must rely on encouraging a desire to "listen" that is based on understanding and confidence and backed by honest performance and follow-through.

II

It is not my purpose here to trace the origins, definitions, or history of public relations, but I do wish to challenge Mr. Lepawsky's assumption that public relations is a still-to-be-substantiated fashion of administration in the United States.[8] I think that everything points to the contrary.

Private management has accepted public relations as an important function, distinct from the function of direct selling or advertising. The publication of dozens of books on the subject, the flourishing of professional associations, the rise of public relations counseling firms by the hundreds, and the establishment of public relations departments by thousands of modern corporations provide ample testimony that public relations is now firmly established.[9]

Public management also has "recognized" public relations. From the earliest days of the municipal research movement after the turn of the century, the people concerned with administrative reform and improvement have taken special interest in programs for informing the public, presenting the facts so as to influence public opinion, working with citizen groups, and urging regular reporting in understandable terms. The steady formalization of government information and public relations programs had its origins long before the first presidential press conference, of Woodrow Wilson, which took place on March 15, 1913.[10]

The growth of municipal reporting and municipal public relations can be traced through the pages of the *National Municipal Review* and *The American City*.[11] The Inter-

[7] This general point is most effectively covered by William H. Whyte Jr., *Is Anybody Listening?* (Simon and Schuster, 1952).

See also Albert Parry, "Boredom Catches up with the Comrades," 212 *Harper's Magazine* 66 (March, 1956). Mr. Parry's thesis is that Soviet propaganda—still effective in many places outside Russia—is becoming a laughable failure at home.

[8] Edward L. Bernays gives a good historical background and bibliography in his book *Public Relations* (University of Oklahoma Press, 1952). It is interesting that Mr. Bernays established the first course in public relations at New York University in 1922.

A well-rounded picture of the present-day concept and scope of public relations is contained in Scott M. Cutlip and Allen H. Center, *Effective Public Relations* (Prentice Hall, 1952).

J. A. R. Pimlott, *Public Relations and American Democracy* (Princeton University Press, 1951) is one of the few books with insight and perspective on the role of government public relations in the United States, though it is devoted primarily to federal government activities in the field. An earlier, more limited review is found in James L. McCamy, *Government Publicity* (University of Chicago Press, 1939).

[9] See "Management's Self-Conscious Spokesmen," 52 *Fortune* 108 (November, 1955), for a concise picture of the growth of public relations in private management. *Fortune* sets up its own definition of public relations as "good performance, publicly appreciated because adequately communicated." The article clearly states that public relations is now generally recognized as an integral part of management rather than as an esoteric art. It reports that:

(1) nearly 5,000 corporations now support public relations departments or engage public relations counsel on a continuing basis. Many companies do both; (2) the public relations budgets of 100 leading U.S. companies in 1954 amounted to at least $50 million; (3) the estimated number of men and women in the U.S. acting in supervisory public relations capacities in all fields is about 40,000, with an annual payroll of $400 million; and (4) 267 U.S. colleges and universities are now offering courses in public relations.

[10] See 32 *The New Yorker* 34 (March 17, 1956), for an interesting account of this first presidential press conference and President Wilson's advanced views on its functions, as expressed in his opening statement. Theodore Roosevelt as Governor of New York and later as President had earlier made extensive, less formalized use of meetings with press representatives.

[11] In a later stage, from 1941-45, *The American City* maintained a regular public relations feature, "The Human Side of City Hall," by Phillips Bradley. This

national City Managers' Association has consistently demonstrated interest in public relations, reflected currently in the pages of *Public Management* and in the "Municipal Public Relations" section of *The Municipal Yearbook*. The basic ICMA textbook, *Technique of Municipal Administration*, contains a meaty chapter on public relations, and like chapters appear in most modern textbooks on public administration.[12] A look at some of the publications of other public administration organizations located at 1313 East 60th Street, Chicago, Illinois, shows additional public relations titles.[13]

The existence of a relatively new organization in the field should also be noted. The Government Public Relations Association has enjoyed a slow, but sound, growth since its founding (as the Association of Municipal Public Relations Officers) in 1948.[14] A monthly newsletter, occasional surveys, reports, membership services, publications, bibliographies, and participation in conferences and meetings of many public service and professional organizations have thus far made up the bulk of its activities.[15] Members of the association have attempted to develop and experiment with public relations techniques for better government-citizen contacts in various areas.[16] Some have also served as standard-bearers to promote the "cause" of government public relations.[17]

This is not the appropriate place to discuss the developments with regard to public relations at other levels of government, such as the role of congressional attitudes toward and in-

subsequently became "The City Tells Its Story," edited by Henry Davis Nadig from 1947-52, and now written by Mrs. Pan Dodd Wheeler, executive director, Government Public Relations Association.

[12] See the full chapters devoted to public relations in such books as Marshall E. Dimock and Gladys O. Dimock, *Public Administration* (Rinehart and Co., 1953), ch. 15; John D. Millett, *Management in the Public Service* (McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1954), ch. 6; John M. Pfiffner and R. Vance Presthus, *Public Administration* (3d ed.; Ronald Press, 1953), ch. 7; Leonard D. White, *Introduction to the Study of Public Administration* (3d ed.; Macmillan Co., 1948), ch. 16.

[13] For example, Elton D. Woolpert, *Municipal Public Relations; A Suggested Program for Improving Relations with the Public* (International City Managers' Association, 1940); Committee on Public Relations of Public Personnel Agencies, Civil Service Assembly of the United States and Canada, *Public Relations of Public Personnel Agencies* (The Assembly, 1941); Eleanor S. Ruhl, *Public Relations for Government Employees: An Action Program* (The Assembly, 1952); National Association of Housing and Redevelopment Officials, *Public Relations and Urban Renewal* (NAHRO, 1956); and NAHRO, *Public Relations Tips*, issued irregularly.

We should note also the proliferation of public relations materials by other organizations on such specific aspects of government as housing, health, recreation, fire, police, hospitals, schools, and water works. Particularly effective work is being done by special public relations associations in some of these fields, such as the National School Public Relations Association, and the National Publicity Council for Health and Welfare Services. The public service campaigns carried on by the Advertising Council have often involved cooperative relationships with various levels of government.

[14] The Association was founded by Henry Davis Nadig and the writer, in part as the result of their collaboration on "The City Tells Its Story" section of *The American City*, and in part as the result of stimulus from correspondence with and publications by public relations officials in the U.S. and Europe. The National Municipal League was particularly helpful in the organizing stages. As the GPRA is engaged in what is strictly a bootstrap-lifting operation, unaided by foundation grants or other subsidies, the executive director is still unsalaried.

[15] See, for example, "Government Reporting to the Citizen," 15 *Public Administration Review* 127-31 (Spring, 1955) for a summary of discussions at annual meeting of the American Society for Public Administration in which the president, executive director, and other members of the GPRA participated.

See also, Pan Dodd Wheeler, *A Municipal Public Relations Plan that Works! Especially for the Small City and for the Medium Sized City* (Municipal Technical Advisory Service, University of Tennessee, 1955).

Eric Carlson, *The Government Public Relations Bookshelf* (GPRA, 1954). A short "working" bibliography.

Basics. Monthly newsletter for government public relations officers. GPRA, 1313 E. 60th St., Chicago 37, Ill.

[16] Such as Kansas City, New Orleans, Miami-Miami Beach, Philadelphia, New York City, Chicago, Denver, Dearborn, Dayton, the TVA area, and so forth.

[17] Among these is Lee K. Jaffe, director of public relations, Port of New York Authority, one of the nation's outstanding examples of a progressive, well-administered public corporation. It seems significant that the authority since its inception has allocated an important high-level role to the public relations function, and that, with all its delicate tri-state problems in the largest urban concentration in the world, it has been so successful in maintaining favorable public attitudes toward its operations.

See Lee K. Jaffe, *A Public Relations Program is in Your City's Future* (Municipal Technical Advisory Service, University of Tennessee, 1952).

———, *Newark Airport Public Relations, A Case History* (Department of Public Relations, Port of New York Authority, 1954).

———, "Public Relations—The New Government Service," 11 *Public Relations Journal* 74 (October, 1955).

vestigations of federal information and public relations programs;[18] the continuing growth of the functions, by whatever name; the conversion of the vast wartime information and communication network; and the structure or weaknesses of the present efforts to "tell America's story" overseas. Enough has been indicated, I believe, to refute the claim that public relations is a "still-to-be-substantiated fashion of our system of administration in the U.S."

We might observe here also that British public administrators have been by no means timid in the establishment of public relations as a well-defined function. In fact, the private management public relations movement in Great Britain derived some of its early impetus and strength from those working in the government public relations field—quite the reverse of the situation in the United States. A series of committee studies and reports aided in defining the need for government public relations to combat civic apathy and inertia and set the stage for subsequent action.[19]

I think we are safe in saying that the "fashion" of public relation is already institutionalized, as one of the vital strands in the web of democratic government. The directions and the guiding principles for the use of public relations techniques by public administrators are emerging ever clearer, as is the awareness of the ethical standards involved, buttressed by the growth of professional associations. The day when the administrator of any large public enterprise could afford to be his "own best public relations man" is long since past; he needs as much skilled staff assistance on this aspect as on any other essential element of management.[20]

III

This leads us to a restatement of our main thesis—that short courses on the principles, theory, and practice of public relations in management today are essential for general training programs in public administration in economically less developed countries. The subject has grown to such recognized importance that it can no longer be relegated to one or two squeezed-in conferences or lectures that are combined with other subjects. More intensive, carefully developed courses will also be needed to produce the specialists or skilled staff who, in larger organizations, will be needed to organize and manage public relations programs.

It also seems evident that with or without the "encouragement" of U.S. public administrators engaged in technical assistance programs abroad, there will be an increasing demand from the underdeveloped countries themselves for advice and assistance on public relations—so that they will be better able to establish the solid foundation for their systems of public administration that is referred to by Mr. Lepawsky. This foundation in any democratic country is, after all, based upon the people's understanding of what government is, what its functions are, and their support for

[18] There is indication that the focus of these congressional investigations into federal information and public relations programs is changing. Instead of blindly swinging away at all such efforts, as in the past, the present Subcommittee on Government Information, headed by John E. Moss of California, has taken as its theme the "public's right to know," in "line with 'freedom of information' efforts of such organizations as the American Newspaper Publishers Association, the American Society of Newspaper Editors, and Sigma Delta Chi Fraternity." The subcommittee, which conducted its hearings in the Fall of 1955, was charged with looking into the adequacy and efficiency of government information programs. See 29 *Basics* 1 (January, 1956).

[19] National Association of Local Government Officers, *Report on Relations between the Local Government and the Community* (The Association, 1 York Gate, Regents Park, N.W. 1, London, 1946).

Reports of the Consultative Committee on Publicity for Local Government (London: H.M.S.O., Interim, Nov. 1947; final, Dec. 1948).

Institute of Public Relations, *The Public Relations Officer in Local Government* (The Institute, Hastings House, Norfolk Street, London, 1948).

See also issues of *Progress*, quarterly magazine for government public relations officers, published by NALGO since 1946, and the *Journal* of Institute of Public Relations, published since 1947.

[20] Unfortunately, there is no "reservoir" of talent readily available to assist public administrators in these functions; it remains largely to be developed and trained, combining the approaches of several disciplines. Most of the public relations courses taught in the colleges and universities of this country are predominantly oriented toward private enterprise employment. The lack of useful, critical research in this area is also a handicap, though in Brazil, at EBAP, and to some extent at ESAPAC in Costa Rica, substantial progress has been made in initiating and assembling a large number of research reports into the public relations, information, and propaganda activities of many government departments and agencies.

and cooperation with government programs. More advanced countries lean heavily on broad systems of popular education to provide this foundation. But breaking through the barriers to understanding and cooperation in less developed countries will challenge the best minds and require the development of new public relations methods and communications techniques.

The principles of semantics, communication, human relations, and group dynamics are still in their infancy in many economically less-developed countries. The younger administrators are usually eager to learn more about these fields with which, as yet, they have had little contact. Many administrators are also learning the importance of formal or informal public opinion pulse-taking as a prerequisite for establishing and maintaining the complex pattern of cooperative relations with their publics that characterizes all modern democratic governments.

It seems obvious that public relations methods cannot be confined to improving direct contacts with the public or to regular reporting by traditional means, as indicated by Mr. Lepawsky. As the British author J. A. R. Pimlott has shown in *Public Relations and American Democracy*, democratic government relies increasingly on persuasion in the effort to promote cooperative action by citizens for many administrative programs. Examples in the gamut of governmental services and programs that depend upon persuasion for their effectiveness are soil conservation, fire prevention, and traffic control. Although persuasion is sometimes backed up by a big stick, usually that is a last resort. If it were not, the cost of all public administration would skyrocket, and efficiency would plummet.[21]

In economically less-developed countries as in others, public administrators need to do a great deal more to get their stories across to the people in terms that they can understand and respond to. Governments are engaged in a constant, competitive struggle for people's limited interest in and span of attention for programs of general public welfare. If public administrators confine their efforts to occasional reports and to bettering over-the-counter services, the result will probably be frustration and the postponement of many projects that are in the people's interest.[22] Democratic governments must take the offensive and get much closer to the people than they have gotten to date. There is no doubt that dramatization will have its place alongside programs for group participation on a large scale.

In conclusion, I should like to indicate my general agreement with Mr. Lepawsky's comments that the prescription abroad of the U.S. professional's "established repertoire of administrative techniques" may compound evils of proceduralism.

There is a good deal wrong with the presumption that "we," the U.S. public administrators, have all the answers, that Uncle Sam always knows what's best for "Junior." Experience has led many technical assistance experts to believe that the surest way to guarantee failure on an international assignment is to approach it with a ready-tied parcel of "gimmicks," to be sold to or pushed across on the "natives."

International technical assistance, to be successful over any period of time, means that the individual expert must learn to adapt himself to the rhythm and flow of life around him: to listen, to observe, to find out what people want and think, or what they think they want. The individual expert is, of course, employed to bring into a foreign country a charge of energy, a stimulus, based upon his own background and experience and personality, and to aid the country professionals and administrators in breaking through the patterns of "closed circuit" thinking and action that may exist in any given environment. But, it is a give-and-take process, a two-way street; the expert has also a unique opportunity to learn, to improve his own concepts from observation of different, perhaps less rigid, aspects of human experience.

This may also point to the need of a longer-range approach, for more lasting results on

[21] The old formula of P plus R (performance plus reporting) equals public relations should, perhaps, be modified to P plus P plus R (persuasion plus performance plus reporting) equals progressive public relations.

[22] It would be interesting to consider how many of the U.S. postwar municipal and state bond issues for public improvements would have received approval without such vigorous and positive public relations programs.

programs for the improvement of public administration, with less dependence upon any "established repertoire of techniques" for the solution of administrative problems, and much more attention to the fundamental aspects of human relationships—to the creation of the desire to initiate *and to maintain* administrative improvements. There must be a frank recognition that the healthy minds of men, and their receptiveness to new ideas and influences, are of major concern in all areas of administrative progress. Without this factor there will be little development of less developed areas.[23]

Mr. Lepawsky expresses just concern about the overmechanistic and too standardized approaches to international technical assistance in public administration. Yet, he also fears that international public administration training will go in for new, relatively untried courses.

From my point of view, the only path leading toward success in international technical assistance goes in the direction of boldness and experimentation. Certainly, somewhat mechanistic and standardized approaches have their place in specific aspects of administration, but only if combined with broader concepts.[24] Also, training in public administration in less developed countries must swing away somewhat from its focus on central administration and devote considerably more attention to substantive matters in such areas as municipal government and administration and community development. In this last, India offers a prime case example.[25] These areas are the ones where administrative improvements often have more immediate impact on the lives of the people, helping to develop their initiative and confidence in themselves, so that they can translate into terms meaningful to them what better public administration offers. Moreover, practical field work programs in these areas, for all general students of public administration, cannot but achieve worth while results in genuinely broadening their understanding of and capacity to deal with real problems in their respective countries.[26]

IV

INTERNATIONAL technical assistance programs do indeed offer "A Challenge to Public Administration." But it would be tragic if leading U.S. professionals in the public administration field closed their minds to trends and developments, and instead offered preconceived ideas and prescribed without diagnosis what should have priority in the public administration improvement programs of particular countries. The tragedy would be deepened if they failed to recognize how the rise and influence of an informed, enlightened public opinion in their own country has made possible their own administrative machinery, so dependent also upon the role of public interest organizations and the vast systems of communication too often taken for granted by today's administrators. They can afford even less to close their eyes to the fact that the United States is the country where public relations as a management tool has been widely accepted for practical purposes, though it has been accepted more slowly by some theorists of public administration.

The less developed countries often must begin with the basic elements of administration. Effective communication, represented through modern public relations theory and practice, is such an element contributing to the success of efforts for administrative reform. This fact is recognized by progressive leaders within many of the less developed countries themselves; U.S. public administrators cannot afford to ignore it. The facts clearly call for increased attention to training and research in public relations as a tool and function of public administration in democratic government.

[23] Here we can note that both the Brazilian School (EBAP) and the Central American Advanced School (ESAPAC) have firmly and successfully established courses in applied psychology and human relations as essential parts of their school programs.

[24] The course on customs administration, offered by ESAPAC in 1955, attempted just this kind of combination.

[25] A good recent review of community development philosophy and techniques is found in *Social Progress Through Community Development*. Bureau of Social Affairs, United Nations, N.Y. E/CN.5/303/Rev.1; ST/SOA/26. November 1955. 120 pp. U.N. Sales Number 1955. IV. 18.

[26] This has been the experience at ESAPAC, where the students of the first two general courses have participated in field work programs both in municipal administration and in community development. For the field work of the third general course, the students are engaged in a joint program study of metropolitan area problems in the San José region.

Administrative Decision-Making in Federal Field Offices

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This is a report of a study of one aspect of administrative decision-making. Presuming that the policies of a field office can be explained as the result of a series of decision-making incidents, this study seeks to explain how and, to a limited extent, why an office decides upon one alternative instead of another. The study is based on a sample of decisions of federal field offices located in the state of Washington.

It is easier to justify a study of decision-making than it is to carry it out because (1) almost no pioneering works exist which mark the shortest and safest route to the meaningful problems and data and (2) a study of decision-making must be launched from two presuppositions which most of the profession would see as questionable.[1]

The first presupposition is that each decision is not a unique incident different from all other decisions. In a profession which generally holds administration to be an art where the difference between the effective and the ineffective administrator is an indefinable aptitude for forecasting the unique and the unpredictable, this is not an easy presupposition to make.

The second presupposition is that decision-making behavior is not an overtone or a by-product of well-recognized processes like budgeting or production control, but is in fact a stream of behavior having enough independent identity to be studied. This presupposition seems obvious in some ways but it denies the traditional assumption that decisions are formulated through established administrative procedures and suggests instead that these procedures are devices for implementing an objective derived in some other manner.

Methodology

The first practical problem in designing this study of decision-making was the identification and definition of the specific variables and the relationships between them which would be examined. To evaluate some of the variables described in the literature and to examine their own insights into decision-making, six thoughtful administrators were invited to consider decision-making. A number of long discussions led to the conclusion that we understand so little about this process that an exploratory study ought to be made.

Pains were taken to design an exploratory study which would cover as many aspects of decision-making as possible, because it was unlikely that a more intensive study could uncover many variables or relationships beyond those built into its design. Though they did not include several aspects of decision-making which seemed important, the objectives of the exploratory study were defined in the form of these questions:

1. What kinds of individuals (in terms of organizational status and power) participate in decision-making; what channels or patterns of relationships do they use to interact with one another; and what means of communication are used to collect and

Note: The competent assistance of Arthur Smith in the execution of the study during 1954 is gratefully acknowledged.

[1] Presupposition is used here in its scientific sense. It indicates a proposition which has not been tested but which is logically necessary to the rationalization of this study even though it may be shown to be unsupportable through further research.

distribute information about problems which require decisions?

2. What kinds of values receive consideration as a basis for making choices between alternative courses of action?

3. What forces, pressures, or circumstances produce situations where it is either expeditious or necessary to make decisions?

These questions called for more powerful data-gathering tools than were available and an element of risk therefore had to be allowed for in using less precise means of gathering data. The case history technique was selected because it offered the maximum opportunity for uncovering evidence of new variables and because, while it would not produce precisely comparable data, it would tend to highlight the uniqueness of the decisions studied.

If case histories of decisions from numerous field offices were to be compared, some basis for identifying comparable types of decisions had to be developed. The six administrators agreed to prepare lists of what they felt to be the important types of decisions made by field offices. These were then consolidated into one list which included twenty classes of decisions, such as budgetary, personnel, procedural, program, and structural. The panel also selected eight agencies whose programs reflected various types of federal activity. During a six-month period interviewers, aided by the panel members, sought one brief case history of each of the twenty types of decisions from each of these eight agencies.

Two weaknesses appeared in the design of the exploratory study even before it was concluded. First, the list of types of decisions had been prepared in the hope that it might be refined and developed into a device which could be used to plat the universe of decisions into homogeneous, comparable classes which could be studied one at a time. Interviewers soon found, however, that administrators had difficulty locating decisions which fitted the types, and that they also were offering the same decision as examples of two or more types. An immediate result was that only 108 of the anticipated 120 case histories were procured. But the more important consequence was the conclusion that the list could not be used to identify comparable types of decisions. A new basis for breaking down the universe had to be found.

A second weakness in the exploratory study stemmed from overestimating the ability of administrators to recall details about decisions made more than a year and a half earlier. It was therefore decided that the major study should be restricted to decisions concluded during the eighteen-month period ending January, 1954.

Twenty-five cases from the exploratory study were discarded because they did not contain enough relevant information; the remaining 83 were analyzed. One immediately had the impression that each decision seemed to involve so many kinds of behavior that did not appear in any of the others that comparison at first looked impossible. The method selected for analyzing the data was to examine differences in various kinds of behavior involved in these decisions as a basis for identifying a single set of variables which would explain them in terms of deviations from a norm and in terms of the operation of a segment of a larger complex of causes. This is one of the methods of science. Once variables and norms representing the range of their variation have been established, hypotheses which define causal implications can be constructed and tested by attempting to predict the outcome of an incident where they are operating. If the major study was to contribute toward this end by producing several well-defined variables and norms describing their operation, the exploratory data would have to be made to yield some indication of what these variables might be.

While examining the data in search of variables, several other conclusions were reached which would aid in planning the major study.

First, though decisions could not be classified determinatively into the twenty types, it appeared that they could be classified on the basis of their focus and the process through which they evolved. "Simple supervisory or operating" decisions appeared to involve a different focus and process from "policy or program" decisions, though these terms seemed to apply to opposite ends of a continuum rather than to dichotomous types.

Decisions could be divided into two classes if policy decisions were defined as involving the consideration of some new principle, tradi-

tion, custom, or legal point and supervisory decisions were defined as involving the application of accepted principle, tradition, custom, or legal position to a more precisely defined administrative problem. Also, the process through which policy decisions developed typically involved numerous centers of power outside the field office whereas supervisory decisions were developed within the office. Using this division of the universe, it was decided to limit the major study to the investigation of policy decision-making.

In an attempt to define policy decisions more precisely so that an interviewer could identify them by subject matter content the following operational definition was devised. Policy decisions involve one of the following: (a) substitution of a new for an old program or function; (b) restructuring the formal organization of the office; (c) substitution of a new for an old procedure; and (d) selection of personnel to fill vacancies in the top two levels of line and the top level of staff positions. There is no implication that these are mutually exclusive categories.

To test the distinction between policy and supervisory decisions and to test this operational definition of policy, each of the six members of the advisory panel was asked to sort the 83 cases into the categories of policy, policy and supervisory, and supervisory. The average of the six sortings was 50 supervisory, 18 supervisory-policy, and 15 policy. The substantial agreement between the way individuals classified the same case was taken as evidence these definitions could be used to identify policy decisions, so defined.

Second, it was hoped that budgetary decisions might involve one common complex of values, personnel decisions another, and so on. The exploratory data dissolved this hope. Indeed, these data provided no substantial evidence indicating the use of a consistent set of values either within or between offices.

One explanation for this situation could be that personnel in different offices used different *parts* of similar value systems to deal with what appeared to be, but were not in fact, comparable decisional problems. It is possible that a more satisfactory basis for classifying decisions would have produced data reflecting common value orientations. Regardless, it was felt that insufficient data were available to design a procedure for studying the role of values in choice-making. To provide as much background as possible in the projected study the decision here was to continue the more casual collection of data for each case history used in the exploratory study.

Third, the exploratory study indicated that the analysis of decision-making from the point of view of question 3 above—what forces produce situations where decisions must be made—was impracticable. To answer this question, data would have had to be gathered directly from all of the groups, interests, and individuals outside the agency who participated in the process; to gather these data would have required greater resources than were available. Here the decision was to secure the information that could be garnered from members of the field office.

Any venture into a relatively uncharted area requires that one adjust to the realities of the terrain. In this case the adjustment involved focusing the major study on one process of what appeared to be three integral dimensions of decision-making. This necessary compromise meant that conclusions bearing on the really significant question—why do field offices choose one policy instead of some other one—had to be left to a later study or studies. The objective of the projected study perforce now became *the development of a model which would comprehend the similarities of and explain the differences between the decision-making processes of a sample of federal field offices in the state of Washington.* Accordingly, the data from the exploratory study were examined to identify variables which would describe this process. They were then used to design the interview schedule for the major study.

One problem remained: to develop a methodology for the major study. The case history device appeared adequate but it was strengthened by the development of an interview schedule indicating the types of data which were sought. An initial interview was to be held with an administrator who played a central role in making the decision, with follow-ups as necessary. It was found later that follow-up interviews with several people who participated in the decision were necessary to insure reliability.

The impossibility of using probability sampling was seen as a major problem in developing this methodology. Sampling allows generalizing for a well-defined universe, but drawing a reliable sample requires more knowledge about that universe than was available here. One did not know whether some offices made more decisions than others; whether the typical agency made one or one hundred decisions a year; or whether the number of decisions varied according to the age of the agency or some other characteristic. Without this rudimentary information, probability sampling could not be used.

Though it was a cause for some concern, an arbitrary procedure had to be used. Policy decisions had been defined as including four kinds of changes in precedent—program, structure, procedure, or leadership. Twenty field offices representing every type of federal activity had been selected and it was decided that four case histories, one of each form of change, should be obtained from each office.

Actually, only one of these offices had concluded four policy decisions of any kind in the eighteen-month period specified. The average was two. In the end, 33 usable case histories were developed which constituted not a sample but an approximation of the universe of policy decisions, as defined here, concluded in these offices during this period.

Of the twenty offices selected for study, access was denied in two, leaving eighteen from which case histories were taken. They varied in size (from 15,000 to 8 employees); function (service, facilitative, and regulatory); and length of existence in present form (from one to forty-seven years). Approximately one-third of the federal field offices in the state were represented.

Thus, even though probability sampling could not be used, there is justification for maintaining that case histories from additional field offices would not materially change the model described below since a considerable variety of offices is represented.[2]

Perception

The first step in the decision-making process in these eighteen field offices appeared to be perception of the need for a change in policy. In each office individuals received and discussed information about things which were happening inside and outside the office; much of this information described the demands of clientele, political leaders, the press, and the central office concerned for policy changes, and almost everyone found these demands of interest.

Behind this concern there seemed to be the assumption that the stability of a program is quite dependent upon its acceptance. Though each office seemed to be motivated to concern itself with support for policies, willingness to modify a policy in the face of information which indicated dwindling support varied. Interestingly enough, those interviewed in offices which were most unresponsive complained of an unsympathetic clientele or unfair legislative pressure whereas interviewees in the more responsive offices complained of vacillating leadership or of a staff unwilling to protect fundamental programs from a fickle public. Offices following a middle course complained of all of these things. One reason all offices concerned themselves with the reactions of these external groups may be that they were a constant source of irritation and stress. An office which did not attempt to maintain support by continually adjusting policies threatened its existence, whereas an office which was continually changing policies felt the pressure of continually emerging internal stresses.[3]

[2] Field offices included in the study were:
Bureau of Agricultural Economics
Bureau of Employment Security
Bureau of Reclamation
Civil Aeronautics Administration
Civil Service Commission
Commerce Department (regional office)
Federal Trade Commission
Forest Service
General Services Administration
Military Sea Transportation Service
National Labor Relations Board
Naval District Headquarters
Naval Shipyard
Naval Storage Depot
Ordnance Corps
Port of Embarkation
Quartermaster Corps
Veterans' Administration

[3] The medical treatment program of the Veterans' Administration in connection with nonservice connected disabilities illustrates this problem. This program is of immediate concern to the veterans groups, who support it, and to medical groups, who oppose it. If the VA

These field offices generally did not circulate information bearing on policy problems through formal channels; rather, they used the more flexible channels of communication of their informal organization. Although each of these intelligence systems was unique in form and structure, they involved people performing similar functions in circulating information.

Buyers, liaison officers, field representatives, traveling recruiters, and those who represent the office in Washington were often *collectors* because they had access to people outside the office with information about the way external groups were reacting to agency programs. In the larger field offices there was frequently an intermediary or *transmitter* who maintained contact with several collectors and passed their information on to those at the top of the intelligence system. Staff personnel with incidental business in the "front office," such as a purchasing agent or a chief of inspection or a safety director, often functioned as transmitters.

Distributors typically had two functions in the handling of this information. First, they took the information provided by collectors and transmitters and from their own outside contacts and developed a factual representation of the condition of program support. Second, they sent this centrally evaluated information back through the transmitters to the rest of the organization. One of the most striking characteristics of these intelligence systems was the selective distribution of information within the office. In general, information indicating support was freely redistributed but information indicating dissatisfaction was progressively screened out.

The leaders of the field offices were always distributors in their intelligence systems. The group often included the heads of major divisions, top staff such as the personnel or budget director, and others who had substantial informal status in the organization. In several cases there was evidence that direct access to this information was an important basis for the authority of the leaders.

From agency to agency leaders used the information which came to them in different ways. Some shared all of it with a small group around them, letting the bulk of their personnel rely on rumor. Some circulated any information they considered reliable throughout the organization. Some held that information was an important factor in developing morale; others appeared to reject this view. While the data from these case studies are not conclusive, it appears that information about external reactions to agency programs is the stuff which individuals in a field office use in thinking about policy problems and that it must be secured from so many sources that everyone in an office must rely heavily upon its intelligence system for this kind of information. It follows that the character of the information produced and distributed by the intelligence system conditions the way an office conceives of its problems.

The kind of information which an office collects and distributes seems to depend primarily on the orientation of those who participate in its intelligence system. Collectors exposed to thousands of bits of information filter out what they consider pertinent, and transmitters filter information further. Interviewees who were asked how they determined what information was useful and pertinent began by saying one learns by experience, but the rest of their comments indicated that this is not completely a matter of individual experience.

The motivations of those who participate in this extraorganizational activity seemed to vary. Some with little status find that it gives them access to those above them in the hierarchy, some feel that it is important to be "in the know," and some find that superior information enables them to extend their sphere of influence. Collectors and transmitters find that they are rewarded for and maintain their access to those "in the know" by providing the type of information they want. By trial and error, collectors probably learn to look for particular types of information. Perhaps they develop rules of thumb which they use to identify the "right information."

One interviewee may have been implying an additional basis for selecting information

attempted to accommodate the conflicting demands of both groups this program would never reach administrative maturity, but when it attempted to protect and stabilize this program both groups opposed it and supported a reorganization which they felt would bring back the former responsiveness.

when he said, "anyone in our office would know that the survival of our program depends upon the support of that group." Another may have been touching on the same thing when he said, "the best sources of information are people who have been around here for awhile. It takes some time to get a feeling for the way we look at things." This kind of evidence may indicate the existence of a body of belief of what the office feels it has learned from its previous experience. Perhaps the most important characteristic of these beliefs for the perception of problems is that they are a widely accepted concept of what the office must do to insure survival of its policies.

Data from these case histories are consistent with some of the conclusions of Leighton and Selznick in their studies of this aspect of organizational behavior.[4] Leighton found that beliefs are organized in a rough hierarchy, with broad general beliefs at the peak and successive clusters of more specific beliefs below. He also found that beliefs are not only shared by the members of the group but that there is considerable social pressure to conform to what they dictate.

Selznick applied the term "doctrine" to the sum of beliefs and held that the sharing of a body of doctrine gives consistency to the many dealings various people have with external groups, whether they be higher echelons, pressure groups, other agencies, or the legislature.

In this study agency doctrine was found to be important in understanding an office's perception of problems. The values fixed in this body of shared beliefs seemed to represent the boundaries of ability to perceive the need for policy adjustment. For example, until "cost consciousness" became an element in the doctrine of an ordnance depot, inspection costs which would have been considered prohibitive elsewhere were not given critical attention. Only after several internal upheavals which resulted in adjustments in depot doctrine were inspection costs accepted as something deserving depotwide attention.

The doctrine of each office may be a reflection of its own unique history and peculiar environmental pressures. In each field office the character of its doctrine and, to a lesser extent, the nature of its status system and the dynamics of its internal control process heavily influenced the acceptance of things to be regarded as problems requiring decision-making.

Many of the decisions involved defensive reactions where the office sought ways of avoiding any policy change; some appeared to involve changes which indicated an intention of adjusting to pressures but which did not result in accommodating enough of the pressures to dissipate them; a few appeared to have accommodated values implicit in agency doctrine and some of the values implicit in the policies it was pressed to accept so that a program change was produced which was acceptable to those demanding modification, to those who supported the existing program, and to personnel of the field office.

The explanation of why one office chose to defend the status quo and why another office undertook a policy change would require more data on values than are available here. But whatever the qualitative aspects of an office's reaction, the data indicate that the collection, transmission, and distribution of information conditions the remainder of the decision-making process and thereby its outcome.

Interpretation

At this point it may be noted that few administrators sensed steps or phases in the process through which a decision evolved. They appeared to react to each decision as a whole incident. One explanation for this tendency would be that the participant experiences only a segment of the behavior which produces a decision, and since he is primarily interested in the outcome his attention is focused so that he sees the decision as resulting from a single cycle of behavior. It facilitates understanding of the decision-making process, however, if it is broken into the several phases that contribute to the emergence of a decision. The first phase, perception, conditions the alternatives which are perceived and thus the dimensions or aspects of the problem. The next phase, interpretation, determines the initial objectives behind which the power and influence of the field office will be mobilized.

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[4] See Alexander H. Leighton, *The Governing of Men* (Princeton University Press, 1945), pp. 287-302; and Philip Selznick, *TVA and the Grass Roots* (University of California Press, 1949), pp. 47-59.

During the interpretation phase, these offices considered alternative ways of reacting to pressure for change and sought to identify an objective which represented their stake in the problem. Alternatives were *interpreted* against what might be called the internal objectives embodied in the doctrine of the field office. Each office sought to maintain a secure place for itself as a full-fledged member of the governmental institutions of the Pacific Northwest. Each office sought public approbation of its services. Most offices felt that they had been given a "mission" by the President—acting for the public—and they displayed a possessiveness toward "our mission" which assumed that they had something of a monopoly on this kind of activity. But in every office personnel, and especially the leaders, felt that the satisfactions which might be gained from pursuing these objectives were in jeopardy from the start because of external groups who wanted their services curtailed or wanted some other agency to provide them. For example, the Bureau of Reclamation felt it was confronted by groups who preferred to have the Corps of Engineers build single-purpose dams on sites which would provide them with irrigation water. Even postal officials had to balance the competing interests of railroads, truck lines, and airlines.

In short, each field office felt it occupied a front-line position in a no-man's-land where it was constantly caught in a cross fire of lethal pressures. As a result, field office personnel experienced a continuous, irritating, and sometimes debilitating stress. Their problem was made worse by the fact that the office frequently had to deal with several decision-making problems at once.

The data indicate that the interpretation phase is the product of several intermediate steps. The people of an office seemed to weigh the consequences of disregarding external pressures for change against the internal price of accommodating them. So many considerations were involved in this weighing, however, that they were taken up by classes. In general, the first class of considerations involved fundamental issues; the next class, program issues; the next, policy issues; and the fourth, action issues. In this way the problem was translated from one involving broad value considerations into one involving specific action issues. In this process somewhat vague and undefined external pressures were made tangible so that the office feels it has "something to get its back into."

In the 33 cases discussed here there was no clear line between the daily discussion of information representing the whole complex of external pressures which the office confronted and the discussion of a particular problem until "the word came out through the grapevine that the front office is going to try to do something about" a particular problem. As "the word" became common knowledge it precipitated a great deal of discussion motivated by the feeling that whatever was decided would have its impact on everyone in the office. Discussion typically led to the gradual development of an urgent feeling that the office should make up its mind and take a position.

As the various elements of an office attempted to move toward agreement on what should be done, in all but two cases the office began with the question of whether to commit itself to considering a change, whether actively to resist proposals for change, or whether to wait and see what would develop (this amounted to putting the problem back on the shelf). Making this choice involved the office in discussions of its goals, objectives, and policies and its experience with similar problems, as well as in an evaluation of the basis of the pressure for change. Inevitably the office also discussed concrete courses of action, but there is little evidence that these received more than discussion at this point. Those who pressed for some specific course of action might well be chastised for jumping to a decision before the whole problem had been studied.

This step in the search for a course of action was concluded when leadership elected to consider a change in policy, resist pressure for change, or wait and see. Each of these alternatives led down roads going in different directions toward subsequent choice points which involved quite different kinds of alternatives.[5]

Seventeen of the offices chose actively to re-

[5] Lawrence L. Durisch and Robert E. Lowry have identified some of the alternatives and the choices made in the TVA in, "The Scope and Content of Administrative Decision—The TVA Illustration," 13 *Public Administration Review* 219 (Autumn, 1953).

sist pressure for change. Having made this decision, they had to decide whether to form alliances, or closer alliances, with various external forces. Most elected to await further developments, but some proceeded to anticipate the moves of the opposition and to develop countermoves.

Ten of the offices determined to undertake a change. Their second choice point involved selection of the new policy. Next they considered alternative methods of implementing this policy, and finally they proceeded to detailed plans for instituting the change.

The six offices which disregarded pressure for change dropped the matter once this choice was made, though not all of the units in these offices let the matter rest. In several cases divisions began immediate agitation to reopen the issue.

Because a sampling design could not be developed here there is no basis for maintaining that this distribution of these three types of responses is representative.

One is led to wonder how a field office, supposedly responsible to a department, the President, and finally to the Congress, may exercise the discretion to play such a key role in the development of policy decisions. The explanation may take two forms. First, it would be a misrepresentation of the data to imply that officers of the executive and legislative branches and the leaders of interest groups did not influence the field office during this second phase of the decision-making process, though not primarily through formal channels. Second, each of these field offices was in a position to develop a substantial power base. The fact that in only 2 of the 33 cases were the offices forced to abandon the choice they originally made is testimony to the power they were able to accumulate.

Although each office mobilized support from different types of agencies or groups, three general sources of power can be identified. Superiors, including bureau heads, Assistant Secretaries, the Bureau of the Budget, a congressional committee, or the department head, could commit some of the vast power of the executive and legislative branches to the support of a decision proposed by a field office. Clientele and interest groups and other governmental agencies or jurisdictions that had an interest in an office's program were a potent source of power. Finally, each office had power stemming from its expertness in its program area, its role as spokesman for a particular kind of public concern, and its ability to persuade its clientele. Sufficient power seemed to be available so that a well-disciplined field office with a single internally consistent set of goals could hardly be opposed.[6] But none of the field offices was able fully to realize its potential power because of internal dissension.

A field office appears to be a natural point around which to organize power from these three sources but in each case, and particularly in the large offices of more than two or three hundred employees, power was split between two or more camps.

The data are not conclusive here, but in about half of the offices power appeared to converge around two or three operating divisions having independent missions. In six offices, power was split between a professional and a nonprofessional group which disagreed on program objectives. Three offices had split over some issue unique to their activity. The advantage of the divisions might stem from the fact that they are constituted to undertake a specific activity benefiting a well-defined clientele, whereas the field office must coordinate the activities of several divisions to achieve what the personnel frequently feel is an intangible paper objective. The loyalties of personnel seem to flow spontaneously toward division leaders, many of whose decisions reinforce the goals of their employees, whereas the manager of the field office often must "balance activities."[7] These conditions—and certainly others—tend to place actual control of the means of production in the hands of division leaders, forcing the manager of the field installation to share his managerial role with them.[8]

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[6] Prior to 1952 the Bonneville Power Administration, for example, was seldom successfully opposed.

[7] A district office of the Bureau of Reclamation, for example, includes a division responsible for power production which is concerned with holding enough water behind its dams to insure "firm power" throughout the year, and another division which delivers irrigation water to farmers and wants to pump water from behind the dam into its canal system.

[8] For a penetrating discussion of some of the dynamics of power distribution in ECA, see Herbert A. Simon,

The head of a field office, of course, has access to an important source of power in his superiors. Frequently support from this source neutralizes the demands of division heads, with the result that dominance goes to the faction which secures the most support from the third source of power—external groups. Since power from these groups was characteristically divided among several leaders in most field offices, a preponderance of power could only be developed through a junta-like clique of leaders who "scratched each other's backs."

Again the data are not conclusive, but perhaps because maintaining the support of a clientele group, of another governmental agency, or of the press takes a great deal of time and attention; perhaps because these power centers like to feel they have exclusive access to a member of the field office; and perhaps because any single individual finds it uncomfortable to represent the competing views of several external centers of power, all but one small office of those observed in this study mobilized power through a clique of leaders.

Membership in this clique was based upon access to support from one of the three sources identified above. The head of the field office was usually the formal leader of the clique, but in several cases he was little more than a figurehead because two or three members of the group, holding a preponderance of power among them, worked together. The most typical arrangement was an informal distribution of responsibilities among the members of the clique with the head of the office acting as chairman of this decision-making group. A division head might take the lead in production matters, a staff man might have primary concern with clientele relationships, and other members of the group might take initial responsibility for more limited areas.

An apparent advantage of corporate leadership is to bring much of the expertise required to evaluate alternative policies together in a group that can develop the support necessary to establish policy. Since several of the members of this group usually head the intelligence system, it also has available to it the best information the office can produce.

"Birth of an Organization: The Economic Cooperation Administration," 13 *Public Administration Review* 227 (Autumn, 1953).

The interpretation process operated through and from this leadership group. It monitored the activities of external groups. It sent up trial balloons. And it sought advice from the lower levels of the field office, from the upper reaches of the executive branch, from Congress, and from its clientele. Small groups at coffee or lunch spent endless hours speculating about the implications of proposed changes, timing, public opinion, and the like. And these discussions, which are the climate of opinion in an office, were reflected in the "front office."

The data do not provide insight into (1) why these cliques choose to resist change or accept it or (2) why they reacted when they did. However, it appears that the following are among the motives which influence such groups: (a) they seek to maintain, and if possible extend, their power in the field office; (b) they seek a reaction which is consistent with whatever elements of agency doctrine bear on the problem and supplement this with consultations and discussions designed to secure acceptance of any matters which are in conflict with agency doctrine; (c) they seek to maintain and, if possible, extend the mission and the prestige of the field office; and (d) they seek a reaction which will reduce to a minimum the possible emergence of further pressure for change.

Struggle for Power

The decision-making process entered its third phase when the leaders initiated negotiations with power centers outside the office to procure enough support to sustain the course of action they had decided upon. Almost to a man, the administrators interviewed felt uncomfortable in undertaking these negotiations. Some said their discomfort arose because they did not have sufficient authority to deal with the problem. Others said it stemmed from the difficulty of getting outsiders really to understand the full scope of the problem confronted by the field office.

Perhaps this general feeling of discomfort stemmed from the character of the environment of most field offices. As they are begun the negotiations seem to precipitate an initial *increase in* rather than *relief of* pressure and tension. Washington may say that it has always

felt the need for certain refinements in a program and suggest that this is the appropriate time to consider them. At the same time clientele groups may be pressing for extensions of the program to a whole new area, and legislative spokesmen may be asking for a temporary curtailment of the program. Leaders of the field offices found that merely opening up the possibility of change set off a host of incompatible demands and suggestions which had apparently been lying dormant. When the equilibrium built upon temporarily accepted dissatisfactions is disturbed, the powers in the environment of an office seek a change which will bring policies more in line with their objectives. The root of the discomfort of the leaders of the office is that many of these demands are conflicting and some of them are mutually exclusive.

In most cases the difficulties of the leaders were further complicated by the fact that these only partially satisfied groups had built a structure of alliances so that they could commit a good deal more than their own support or opposition to the course of action proposed by the field office.

Several of these offices faced additional difficulties because they lacked unity in the leadership group. In one case a division head who had won the support of a powerful clientele group "sat on his hands" until offered a *quid pro quo* which enhanced his position. In another case a powerful staff officer refused to approach a superior who had once supported a rival.

Though many of them found it uncomfortable, most of these leaders appear to have acted on the premise that they had to develop a preponderance of power behind their course of action if they were to pursue it successfully. The actual stuff from which this preponderance of power was built was a series of commitments of support to a common course of action from clientele groups, legislative spokesmen, other federal agencies, interest groups, Washington bureau and staff heads, and from party officials. But the price of commitment to an alliance was compromise—modification of the course of action determined by the field office so that it more nearly accommodated the interests of each potential ally. In general, administrators stated that as a practical matter they approached a power holder with his interests in mind and sought to show him how the proposed policy would serve them more fully. If the power holder sought some further concession the representative of an office could attempt to show why this could not be granted or agree to "see what can be done." To the extent that each member of the leadership group had this experience, and to the extent the concessions sought by power holders were in conflict with each other, leadership found itself in a dilemma. *Every* case studied involved the leadership group in a predicament of this sort. Cases differed only in degree.

Perhaps this is evidence of an insurmountable inconsistency in the objectives of the various groups who can, because of their power position, claim an interest in the revision of a policy. A majority of the leaders responded to this impossible situation by burning the candle at both ends. One of them, for example, conceded a long-debated question of jurisdiction to another agency while forming an alliance with the leaders among its clientele. Another made conflicting commitments to a bureau head and a legislator after he learned that the Bureau of the Budget would oppose either of them. While these instances are not typical of the behavior of these administrators, they do indicate the kinds of responses administrators are forced into to provide support for a program.

The data reflect three general patterns in relation to the mobilization by field offices of support for their proposed policy. A few of them analyzed the problem of mobilizing support and, after identifying what they thought to be the most likely sources, they prepared a plan for securing it. In carrying out this plan, leaders approached power centers to which they had access, seeking their support. Where anticipated support was not forthcoming new support was sought until enough was available. All of these offices were successful in implementing their original course of action and they appeared to protect their policies most effectively.

A more characteristic mode of developing support was "to beat the bushes for it." Here, leaders set out to secure whatever support they could with the unstated objective of drawing off as much pressure as possible while making

as few concessions as possible. While leaders of the first group attempted to "sell" their policies, leaders of the second group sought to accommodate enough of the interests of the centers of power to win their support. These offices also tended to rely much more heavily upon bureau and department support than did those which tried to create their own "grass-roots support."

A third small group of offices did not actively seek support for their policies. In each case the leaders remained inflexibly opposed to any modification of their position until opposition developed which succeeded in getting a reversal of policy from Washington. In one of these offices a division was obliterated and in another the manager of the office was replaced.

Two comments might be made on the character of the alliances which most of these offices formed. First, they appeared to be the most limited kinds of cooperative enterprise. The leadership group acted as intermediary between most of the power holders who committed support so that in many cases the allies hardly knew of each other's existence. An alliance typically was built upon commitments to support specific policies, which meant that each policy decision required the negotiation of an alliance which would protect and support it.

Second, this intangible and usually invisible *ad hoc* support seems to be the material from which power is developed. Invariably a policy which must be framed so that it attracts enough allies to support it mirrors the values of the groups who enter the alliance.

The data indicate that the cumulative result of the first three phases of the decision-making process is agreement on values by the various groups whose support is necessary to establish a policy. The preparation of a policy statement which can be used as a basis for administrative action is produced during a fourth and final phase.

Formalization

THE fourth phase in the evolution of a decision is formalization. Administrators are familiar with the problems of "firming up" a policy statement which is consistent with regulations, technically sound, and for which adequate implementation is available. In fact, many of the administrators interviewed here equated decision-making with formalization, as the term is used here. One might be justified in maintaining that they confused implementation and publication with formulation.

Where a change was to be instituted, this phase involved making a number of choices which translated values agreed upon during the struggle for power phase into operational or action objectives. Formal authorization to change an activity might be required; budgetary allocations might be needed; personnel might be transferred or ceilings raised. Every such change sets off a wave of related changes which ripple out until all parts of the field office accommodate them. Staff units typically took the lead in polishing the crude outline of a decision implicit in the agreements developed during phase three until it conveyed the intent of the decision-makers. The end product was often a supplement to a manual and a series of supporting documents which specified particular kinds of action for the segments of the office concerned with the change.

Where policy was successfully defended there did not appear to be any typical reaction during this phase, though some formal communication reaffirming the position of the office was published in each case.

In an important sense the four phases of the model discussed here concern a more fundamental process than decision-making. Perception, interpretation, struggle for power, and formalization are phases of the process through which eighteen federal field offices in the northwestern corner of the nation made decisions. But a policy decision, as defined here, is one which concerns consideration of the precedents—principles, traditions, customs, and legal positions—against which an office evaluates its objectives, structure, procedures, and leadership. In short, decision-making has been equated with one aspect of organizational change. Perhaps what has been described here as a model of the process through which decisions evolve, with each phase being built upon the foundation of the phases which precede it, is also a somewhat primitive model of the dynamic process through which organizations grow and mature.

Bureaucratic Realpolitik and the Teaching of Administration

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I

THE proliferation of courses in public administration has made it possible to provide training in practically every conceivable phase of the field. The gamut of instruction includes administrative law, personnel techniques, budget operations, planning and housing, correctional administration, human relations, and international administration, to mention only the more common offerings. With each passing year, students completing the college and university sequences in this field represent an increasing level of professional competence in their knowledge and grasp of administrative concepts and techniques.

Pleasing as this has been to the academician and to the employing governmental agencies, it should not be permitted to obscure our failure to provide commensurately useful instruction in an equally important aspect of the subject—the art of administrative survival. Only in pure theory is the implementation of governmental policy the sole concern of the administrator. From his point of view, the administrative structure is also the scene of an unending and sometimes desperate battle for personal survival, power, and prestige. In large part, his career depends upon his skill at the game of bureaucratic realpolitik, i.e., his mastery of the administrative version of "who gets what, when, and how."

The public employee who lacks at least an elementary comprehension of the major operational concepts and objectives of administrative realpolitik is professionally handicapped, no matter the measure of his other qualifications.

Scanning the literature of American public administration, anyone familiar with the realities of bureaucratic existence is struck by the almost total absence of any dispassionate analysis of the nature and importance of administrative realpolitik. While the scholarly commentators have given increasing recognition and emphasis to the importance of individual motivation in the administrative process, their discussion of realpolitik has been descriptive rather than systematic.[1] Much has been said about a philosophy of administration[2] but the possible relationship between such a philosophy and the practice of realpolitik has been largely ignored. A few novelists have dealt with the subject in a skillful and highly perceptive manner, but the fictional approach is, at best, an inadequate substitute for the systematic dissection and analysis which the academician

[1] There is an abundance of illustrative material in Harold Stein, ed., *Public Administration and Policy Development; A Case Book* (Harcourt Brace & Co., 1952). Though written in a humorous vein, some of the practical problems of bureaucratic existence are touched upon in James A. Perkins and Robert E. Sessions, "Advice to the Eager Neophyte" 11 *Public Administration Review* 187 (Summer, 1951); and Robert S. Herman, "The Administrator's Dilemmas" 15 *Public Administration Review* 282 (Autumn, 1955).

[2] For summaries of recent developments in the theory of public administration see John M. Gaus, "Trends in the Theory of Public Administration" 10 *Public Administration Review* 161 (Summer, 1950); Wallace S. Sayre, "Trends of a Decade in Administrative Values" 11 *Public Administration Review* 1 (Winter, 1951). Dwight Waldo, "Development of Theory of Democratic Administration" 46 *American Political Science Review* 81 (March, 1952) and "'Development of Theory of Democratic Administration': Replies and Comments" 46 *American Political Science Review* 494 (June, 1952), by Herbert A. Simon, Peter F. Drucker, and Dwight Waldo.

can so successfully undertake.[3] What is especially curious is not that no one has done for the administrative art what Machiavelli did for politics but that even a preliminary effort in this direction has yet to be attempted.[4] And, unfortunately, this void in the literature reflects a general failure to deal with the subject as an integral aspect of proper and necessary instruction in public administration.

How can one account for this omission? Certainly, the original "antipolitics" orientation of the leaders in the fledgling public administration movement has been an important factor. "Politics" was viewed as bad, dirty, corrupt, inefficient. Public administration—clean, good, honest, efficient—was the necessary antidote and cure. Whenever possible, a sharp line was drawn between the two—explicitly, in terms of their respective provinces and modes of operation; implicitly, in terms of their moral and ethical status. Rooted in the essentially erroneous belief that governmental business should, could, and would be conducted in splendid and hygienic isolation from motives of personal, factional, or partisan gain, this tradition still poses a formidable obstacle to any realistic approach to the administrative process.

This influence aside, discussion with those who teach in the field indicates that the failure to deal with the problem of administrative realpolitik is commonly justified on four grounds. These are:

1. The argument that the ability to "play politics" bears so negligible a relationship to success or failure in administration that it does not warrant treatment as an aspect of professional instruction.
2. Agreement that skill at realpolitik is an important professional asset but that, on moral grounds, it should be excluded from academic treatment.
3. Agreement that some instruction in the subject would be desirable but the objection that the average professor lacks the practical experience to deal with the topic effectively and realistically.
4. The argument that however useful such knowledge might be, it can be acquired only in the rough-and-tumble combat of day-to-day bureaucratic experience and is therefore not amenable to classroom transmission.

The first contention warrants little serious consideration. Anyone who sincerely believes that power and promotion are awarded only on the basis of "pure" ability and that an eye to the main chance is totally unrelated to professional advancement, so lacks an understanding of the administrative process as to warrant almost summary disqualification as an instructor in the subject.

The more plausible argument that it would be immoral to familiarize students with the nature of administrative realpolitik has a fatal weakness in that it confuses analysis with advocacy. Obviously, the political theorist who lectures on Machiavelli can hardly be accused of automatically endorsing his ideas. Similarly, a discussion of administrative realpolitik is not necessarily an endorsement of the phenomenon but rather recognition of a ubiquitous and significant pattern of administrative behavior and an attempt to delineate, for the student, the major characteristics of that pattern.

The proposition that the average professor lives too cloistered a life to enable him to discourse realistically upon bureaucratic realpolitik is, to put it mildly, rather disingenuous. Colleges and universities may be centers of learning but they are also administrative entities with the traits common to most sizable administrative organisms. The term "faculty politics" conveys an unmistakable meaning. As a rule the academician need only observe

[3] Pat Frank's two novels, *Mr. Adam* (J. B. Lippincott, 1946) and *An Affair of State* (J. B. Lippincott, 1948), have excellent descriptive passages dealing with realpolitik in the public service. For the art of administrative survival, as practiced by the professional soldier, see John Marquand's fascinating *Melville Goodwin, U.S.A.* (Little, Brown & Co., 1951). Both Marquand, *Point of No Return* (Little, Brown & Co., 1949) and Cameron Hawley, *Executive Suite* (Houghton Mifflin Co., 1952) have dealt with the phenomenon as encountered in private industry. The Hollywood variant of realpolitik is deftly handled in Bud Schulberg's *What Makes Sammy Run?*

[4] Stephen Potter has come closest to a general introduction to realpolitik as a way of life in his semi-serious little studies of gamesmanship and lifesmanship, *One-Upmanship* (Henry Holt & Co., 1952). Discussions of special aspects of realpolitik in the realm of private enterprise can be found in the *Fortune Magazine* articles on "How Executives Get Jobs," (August, 1953), "How To Fire an Executive," (October, 1954), "How To Get a Raise," (December, 1953). William H. Whyte, Jr. has brought together a group of related articles in his *Is Anybody Listening?* (Simon and Schuster, 1952).

life in his native habitat to acquire an ample stock of illustrative material.[5] In recent years, moreover, an increasing number of instructors have also had contact with administration in public and/or private agencies and have enjoyed additional opportunity for enriching their understanding of the art of administrative survival.

There is partial validity to the thesis that proficiency in realpolitik, a subtle and complex skill, can be successfully acquired only in the course of actual bureaucratic existence. True enough. Just as one cannot become a successful politician merely by attending lectures or reading about campaign techniques, so the swift, sure understanding of how to cope with an administrative opponent is gained only through experience and practice. But the objection is quite beside the point. This is not a proposal that we set out to produce a breed of polished self-seekers. Rather, the suggestion is that our students be made aware that Machiavellian methods are employed even by dedicated public servants and that we ensure that our graduates have at least a minimum familiarity with the stratagems most commonly utilized by the practitioners of administrative realpolitik. The "on-the-job" acquisition of this knowledge is too often a costly and traumatic educational experience. If training in public administration is professional in nature and designed to equip the student for the practice of his chosen vocation, we are hardly justified in ignoring any legitimate aspect of that preparation which might contribute significantly to his long-run chances for success or failure.

II

If we concede, however reluctantly, the desirability of providing at least a general introduction to the subject of administrative survival, how can this instruction best be organized and presented? Given the present lack of systematic writing on the topic, the academician is in large part thrown upon his own resources. Until some consensus has developed as to the best mode of treatment, the approaches and the analytical concepts will necessarily vary from person to person. Yet, whatever the organizing principle adopted by the individual instructor, certain key ideas, tactical devices, and problems will undoubtedly be encountered, at one point or another, in all discussions.

Somewhere it will be essential to point out that administrative decisions are not always made on the merits of the matter—to note, if only briefly, the relationship between a given series of administrative issues and decisions and an intramural struggle for personal power. There will have to be mention of the theory and practice of the "contact." There will be discussions of the recognized techniques for undermining an unappreciative superior, for discrediting a troublesome rival, for disposing of an overambitious subordinate. There will be some treatment of the use of the memorandum as an offensive and defensive weapon, and of the proper utilization of committees for fighting delaying or holding actions. The infinite potentialities of a skillfully devised administrative "reorganization" could hardly be ignored. And, of course, no analysis would be complete without attention to the practical application of the maxim "if you can't beat them, join them" or a discussion of the time-tested and approved methods of avoiding a stand on an issue until the winning side emerges while, at the same time, conveying to all disputants the impression of unwavering loyalty and support.

For those who espouse the "case method" system of teaching, no area of instruction could be more promising. An examination of the *modus operandi* of a judiciously selected group of successful administrators would afford a highly interesting approach and would give both students and instructor a chance to compare the relative efficacy of different practices in different situations. From such a body of comparative data there might well emerge "principles of administration" perhaps more realistic and more utilitarian than those developed to date.

Finally, it is even possible that in exploring this virgin province we may come upon the touchstone to the long-sought philosophy of public administration—or, more accurately, *a* philosophy of public administration. Robert

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[5] One need mention only Mary T. McCarthy's embarrassingly accurate study of *The Groves of Academe* (Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1952).

Michels long ago argued that the "iron law of oligarchy" inevitably caused the administrators of any organization, political or otherwise, to concern themselves primarily with their own power and privileges, rather than with the professed objectives of their organization.[6] If a philosophy involves the statement of ultimate goals (ends) and the methods whereby those goals may properly be sought (means), the elitist philosophy of administration has already been partially formulated: the *ends* sought by administrators are those which are inherent in human nature[7] and the perpetuation of personal advantage is the administrative consideration to which all other desiderata are finally subordinated.[8] The detailed elucidation of the *means*, i.e., the techniques most appropriate to this objective, would of course be measurably advanced by the development of the type of instruction suggested in this discussion.

The doctrine of realpolitik or, if we prefer, Machiavellianism has at least the merit of affording a simple, consistent explanation for human behavior, whether private, political, or administrative. For those who find this explanation unacceptable, it affords both the necessity of and a point of departure for the formulation of a more valid and perhaps more realistic doctrine. This, in part, was one of the consequences of the doctrine of realpolitik in the field of political theory. It is not inconceivable that a parallel version of this theory in the realm of public administration may similarly serve as a provocative and catalytic agent in the thinking of those concerned with the philosophy of administration.

[6] *Political Parties, A Sociological Study of the Oligarchical Tendencies of Modern Democracy* (Free Press, 1949) originally published in 1915. Mosca and Pareto, the other two great *elitists*, arrived at essentially the same conclusion. For recent discussions of some other implications of this theory see Alvin W. Gouldner, "Metaphysical Pathos and the Theory of Bureaucracy" 49 *American Political Science Review* 496 (June, 1955), and John P. Roche and Stephen Sachs, "The Bureaucrat and the Enthusiast: An Exploration of the Leadership of Social Movements" 8 *Western Political Quarterly* 248 (June, 1955).

[7] "He who would set forth a convincing theory of public administration must be able to make up his mind regarding the nature of man and society." George A. Graham, "Trends in the Teaching of Public Administration" 10 *Public Administration Review* 75 (Spring, 1950).

[8] *Cf.* Norton Long's comment that the ". . . first objective—ultimate patriotism apart—of the administrator is the attainment and retention of the power on which his tenure of office depends." "Power and Administration" 9 *Public Administration Review* 260 (Autumn, 1949).

Military-Civilian Staffing and Career Planning in Army Ordnance

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THE identification in the Department of Defense of the positions that should be staffed with military personnel and those that should be staffed with civilian employees has been a matter for several inquiries by congressional committees. Recently, the Hoover Commission made specific recommendations on this subject; concurrently it also made recommendations for the development of career managers, military and civilian, for the logistics support activities of the defense establishment.

The Army Ordnance Corps, itself a significant part of the defense logistics system, has for some years been engaged in establishing an integrated system of military-civilian staffing and career planning designed to meet the needs of the corps and its people, military and civilian. This article describes some major features of that endeavor.

The Need for Complementary Staffing

THE Army Ordnance Corps has long depended upon well-integrated military-civilian teamwork for the effective accomplishment of its mission. Primarily, this combination of military and civilian staffing has evolved because of the Army's need and desire to rotate military personnel in successive assignments throughout the world to meet military requirements and to develop sufficient numbers of experienced, competent military leaders. The military rotation plan and other factors, such as the need to do certain jobs with nonmilitary personnel, make it necessary for Ordnance to develop a stable civilian staff to provide depth of knowledge and skill within specialized subject areas and continuity for essential continuing operations. Through this kind of interdependent and mutually complementary staffing, Ordnance military and civilian personnel together provide the requisite tactical and nontactical leadership; the experience; the managerial, professional, and technical skill; the intimate knowledge of Ordnance materiel and service; and the sense of urgency required for superior performance.

In this complementary staffing, the Ordnance officer brings to the combination experience and training which may be described as *broad.* Through his rotation in assignment in the continental United States and overseas, the officer's contribution is broad *geographically* in comparison with that of the civilian employee, who normally has had Ordnance experience only in the continental United States. The officer's contribution is also broad *technically;* for example, he may have had duty in an arsenal and in a depot, as well as with troops. Thus, he may bring to a procurement district assignment a background knowledge of supply and production which the district civilian concerned directly with procurement does not normally have. The officer contributes a knowledge of Ordnance as an interrelated *system* of commands, arsenals, troops, proving grounds, procurement districts, and depots. From his experience with troops he brings a first-hand knowledge and appreciation of *combat requirements* and troop needs for Ordnance materiel which the civilian does not normally have. Last, the Ordnance officer brings to this combination of officer and civilian his knowledge of the Army as a *military system.*

The Ordnance career civilian contributes a complementary *depth* of knowledge. The civilian's contribution is *deep* with respect to (1) a

knowledge of people and relationships in a given installation and community, usually keyed to the accomplishment of a functionally specialized segment of the Ordnance mission—a knowledge that an officer may never achieve in the relatively short tour of duty permitted under the military rotation policy; (2) a detailed knowledge of operating policies and procedures peculiar to the *local* installation or activity; (3) a *stability, continuity,* and *know-how* with regard to his particular job assignment—three tools which facilitate his day-to-day activities; (4) an *historical knowledge* of what has been tried before, and succeeded or failed; and (5) a professional, technical, or administrative *specialized knowledge*—knowledge in *depth* of his particular specialty, be it storage, Ordnance design engineering, ammunition inspection, or other.

The officer and the civilian both contribute to an over-all *sense of partnership* and a recognition of mutual objectives that are a catalyst to and an essential component of their joint efforts to assure mission accomplishment. Through sharing their experience and combining their judgment in making day-by-day management and technical decisions, they contribute the breadth of military know-how and the depth of civilian know-how appropriate to their solution. Their contributions are complementary, not duplicating, the products of different accumulations of training and experience.

The essence of successful Ordnance staffing lies in establishing ways to develop optimum competency, both in officers and in civilians, to perform their respective functions. To this end, Ordnance is undertaking to provide maximum career and developmental opportunities so that officers and civilians may grow in complementary career programs geared to the complementary values outlined above.

Factors Affecting Planning

THE Chief of Ordnance, the largest of seven Army technical services, is directly responsible to the Deputy Chief of Staff for Logistics; the line of responsibility runs thence to the Chief of Staff, to the Secretary of the Army, to the Secretary of Defense. Staffing policies and career planning in Ordnance must therefore conform to the policy and regulatory requirements of each of these four superior echelons; and in the case of civilian employees they must also conform to the policies and regulations of the U.S. Civil Service Commission.

The Chief of Ordnance is charged, as part of his mission, with the development of officers to meet the worldwide Army requirement for Ordnance officer personnel. At any one time, probably not more than 35 per cent of his officer strength is assigned to elements of his own continental United States (CONUS) command. The remainder are on duty, chiefly overseas, with military elements which are not under his command, such as the overseas Armies and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). All officers are subject to Army policies of periodic, worldwide rotation in assignment. In contrast, the development of Ordnance civilian personnel is preponderantly for the CONUS structure under command of the Chief of Ordnance; their development is a normal part of a sound internal management process.

At present, the Army Ordnance Corps has about 7,200 officers and 112,000 civil service civilian employees. Ordnance Corps missions, budget, and military and civilian personnel authorizations are, however, subject continually to fluctuation, the degree and kind of change being directly related to the prevailing temperature of the "hot" or "cold" war situation. "Peacetime" systems of organization and utilization of human resources must therefore provide a sound basis for rapid expansion to meet full emergency requirements.

Ordnance planning to provide the maximum career and developmental opportunities has gone forward concurrently on three fronts: (1) the establishment by written policy of staffing patterns for each Ordnance installation and activity which identify the positions normally to be occupied by Ordnance officers and those normally to be occupied by Ordnance civilians; (2) the design and implementation of an Ordnance officer career plan; and (3) the design and implementation of an Ordnance civilian career plan.

Establishment of Military-Civilian Staffing Policy and Patterns

THE major objectives of Ordnance military-civilian staffing policy are (1) the maximum

utilization of military and civilian personnel; (2) the identification of the positions that will normally be staffed with military and with civilian personnel; (3) the provision of mutually supporting and complementary military-civilian staffing at various managerial levels; and (4) the establishment of purposeful, attractive career opportunities for military and civilian personnel.

Format. An Ordnance staffing policy consists of a written directive that describes the approved organization and a chart that depicts it. The policy is issued by the Chief of Ordnance or by a local Commanding Officer or Commanding General after approval by the Chief of Ordnance. Staffing policies and patterns are tailored to the particular installation (activity, command) need.

Techniques and Procedures Used in Arriving at a Staffing Policy for a Single Installation. The following procedure, used in helping a Commanding Officer (in this case an arsenal commander) arrive at his staffing policy for his approved organization, illustrates the consultative services used throughout this work.

1. The Commanding Officer is informed by official letter of the impending visit of the writer, and its purpose, and is told that while in the installation the writer will in effect be working as his staff man. He has normally been briefed on the entire arrangement at some previous Commanders' conference.

2. The Commanding Officer names some individual with whom the writer is to work directly. A staff member of the arsenal, selected for the purpose, is assigned to study the staffing policies of other Ordnance installations and to begin to rough out the particular installation policy.

3. In the first days at the installation, an illustrated briefing will normally be given for senior military and civilian personnel to acquaint them with the purpose, scope, and methods of the entire military-civilian career planning effort in Ordnance. (A pamphlet has been published to help this effort.)

4. Employing a work sheet designed to record, maintain, and demonstrate both organizational relationships and military and civilian staffing, a picture is taken of current staffing practice, *from records.*

5. Visiting selected senior military and civilian managers of the installation organization, the writer asks and notes the answers to two questions:

a. Is the organization and staffing shown on the work sheet currently accurate? If not, it is changed to reflect the *actual* situation.

b. If the manager had his choice, how would he organize and staff his element *and* the entire arsenal?

6. A report is made by briefing to the Commanding Officer of the existing installation organization and staffing and the recommendations that have been gathered for improvement. The Commander is asked to state in each case how he, *if he were entirely on his own,* would want to organize and staff his installation.

7. A staffing policy, complete with organization and staffing pattern charts, is prepared reflecting the views of the Commanding Officer. This represents the policy he would pursue if entirely free to do so.

8. The Commanding Officer brings this proposal into the Office, Chief of Ordnance, and shares it with the five General Officers who are Assistant Chiefs of Ordnance (Research and Development, Industrial, Field Service, Program Coordination, and Manpower). Each Assistant Chief is free to offer recommendations relating to his particular area of interest and to the entire installation structure, both for organization and for continuing staffing policy. The Deputy Chief and, at times, the Chief of Ordnance participate in these discussions.

9. The Commanding Officer takes his proposal and the headquarters comments back to his installation and, "marrying in" with his local requirements the suggestions he has received, adjusts his proposed organization and staffing policy and pattern until it is ready for final submission for approval.

10. Upon submission, the final proposal is formally cleared for concurrence with the participants in the Office, Chief of Ordnance. Differences are resolved by staff action, and the resulting organization and staffing policy is approved by the Chief of Ordnance for implementation.

11. The Commanding Officer issues the approved directive and takes necessary implementing action.

Developing a Policy and Patterns for a Type of Installation. The first staffing policy developed for a type of installation was for depots. Major General J. H. Hinrichs, now Deputy Chief of Ordnance, at that time had operating control of twenty-six depots employing some 40 per cent of the entire civilian personnel strength of Ordnance. The philosophy of approach and the manner of operation in depots were identical for the first six steps described above for the arsenal illustration. Seven depots were studied and General Hinrichs and his staff were then briefed on existing practices and patterns and the recommendations gathered

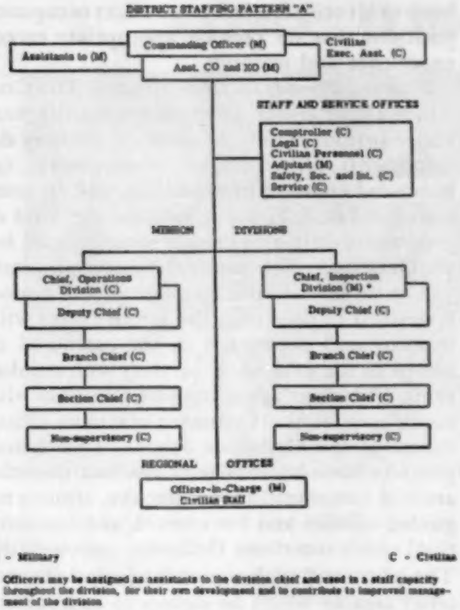

Figure 1

for improvements. A proposed depot staffing policy authorizing one of two patterns for each depot resulted. This proposed policy was submitted to all twenty-six depots for comments, adjusted in accordance with these comments, and a single policy with two patterns issued by General Hinrichs in 1953. This policy and its patterns have since been evaluated on the basis of experience and one major change has been made.

Using similar techniques and the same principles of consultation, a single staffing policy authorizing one of two patterns for each of the fourteen procurement district offices under his operating control was prepared and published by Major General J. B. Medaris, Assistant Chief of Ordnance, Industrial Division, in May, 1954.

Lieutenant General E. L. Cummings, Chief of Ordnance, approved and published the staffing policy and pattern for Headquarters, Office, Chief of Ordnance, in November, 1954.

Portraying Staffing Patterns. Two ways of graphically portraying staffing patterns have been used. The first (Fig. 1) portrays military-

OFFICE CHIEF OF ORDNANCE

STAFFING PATTERN

LEVELS	C of ORD	IND. DIV.	F.S. DIV.	R & D DIV.	PROGRAM COORD. OFF.	MNPWR. OFF.	LEGAL OFF.	COMP. OFF.	I.G. OFF.	I.S.&S. OFF.	PROV. M. OFF. 2/
CHIEF	M	M	M	M	M	M	C	C	M	M	M
DEPUTY CHIEF	M	M	M	M	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
ASSISTANT (S)	(M) (C)	(C)	(C)	(C)	(C)	(C)	(C)	(C)	(C)	(M) (C)	(C)
EXECUTIVE OFFICER	(M)	(M)	(M)	(M)	(M)	(M)	(C)	(M)	—	(M)	—
BRANCH CHIEF	M | M | C	M	M	M	M	M | M | M | C	C	C	M	M | C	M
DEPUTY CHIEF OR 1/ EXECUTIVE OFFICER	— | — | —	M (M)	M (M)	M (M)	(M)	(M) | (M) | (M) | (C)	—	—	—	— | —	—
ASSISTANT (S)	— | (C) | (C)	(M) (C)	(M) (C)	(M) (C)	— (C)	— | — | — | (C)	(C)	(C)	—	(M) | —	(C)
SECTION CHIEF	— | — | C	C	C	C	M | C	M | M | C | C	C	C	M | C	C | C	M | C
NON-SUPERVISORY	C | C | C	C	C	C	M/C | C	M/C | M/C | C | C	C	C	C | C	C | C	M | C
	LEGIS LIA. BR. | TECH INFO OFF. | OTHERS (4)				MILITARY PLANS BR. | OTHERS (3)	MIL ORGS & TRNG BR. | MIL PERS BR. | MANPOWER BR. | CIV PERS BR.			INSP. BR. | INVES. BR.	OTHERS (2) | SAFETY BR.	OPS SECTNS | OTHERS

1/ - In Divisions, one or the Other, But not both.
- In Offices, Executive Officer, Not Deputy.

2/ - Records & Control Office - All Civilian.

LEGEND: ( ) - Staff Positions M - To be Military Staffed C - To be Civilian Staffed.

Figure 2

civilian staffing by levels in an organization, on a form resembling an organization chart. The second (Fig. 2) uses a columnar arrangement to portray specifically the staffing for each authorized organizational element. Both apply identical principles.

What the Staffing Policies and Patterns Do. Staffing policies and patterns perform the following functions:

1. Identify the positions normally staffed with military and with civilian personnel.
2. Eliminate "dual staffing"; i.e., the occupation of the same position by a military officer and a civilian.
3. Clarify lines of authority, responsibility, and accountability by defining organizational titles and specifying their use. For example, the titles "military chief" and "civilian chief" are no longer used.
4. Define career "ladders of opportunity" for military and civilian personnel in each installation.
5. Eliminate the intermixture of military and civilian staffing in the same line of authority and responsibility.
6. Establish identified military developmental opportunities for officer personnel in the CONUS command structure to meet the worldwide military requirement for Ordnance officers and identified career developmental opportunities for civilian employees to meet the CONUS command structure need.
7. Provide a basis for better planning for the retention of skilled know-how in periods of reduction and for more orderly expansion in emergencies.

Status. All but four major Ordnance installations and activities are now covered by tailor-made staffing policies that have been approved or are in process of approval. When all are completed, it will be possible to extract from them common denominators of principle and policy for publication as an over-all Ordnance Corps military-civilian staffing policy and pattern.

The Ordnance Officer Career Plan

ORDNANCE officer career planning is directed to the technical and managerial development of officer personnel in selected materiel (commodity) areas. The program is designed to provide progressive, long-range development of each officer member of the corps through appropriate training and on-the-job experience. One purpose in establishing military-civilian staffing patterns for Ordnance installations has been to identify for Ordnance officer occupancy positions that do provide appropriate career experience and training.

Planned Periods of Development. The Ordnance officer career program emphasizes four major periods of development: (1) military development; (2) Ordnance development; (3) command and staff intermediate; and (4) command and staff. Figure 3 indicates the kind of progressive duty assignments contemplated for the Ordnance officer under the career program.

The three-year military development period is devoted to providing the junior officer with training and experience in the command of troops in the field while on duty with combat arms. The officer's development continues with attendance at the Ordnance company officer course at the Ordnance School. This course provides basic knowledge of the four materiel areas of concentration (automotive, armament, guided missiles and fire control, and ammunition) which constitute Ordnance commodities. The officer will with counselling select the materiel area in which he desires to concentrate and, subject to over-all requirements, this selection will determine the technical course of instruction he next attends and the course of his development during his Ordnance development period.

During the next ten years, in the Ordnance development period, the Ordnance officer serves tours in two functional areas—research and manufacturing and field service (supply distribution and maintenance)—and at least one tour of duty with troops. Throughout this period, he remains in his materiel area of concentration. For example, an officer "majoring" in ammunition will serve a research and manufacturing tour at an Ordnance installation primarily concerned with ammunition, such as Picatinny Arsenal, with its national research and development mission for ammunition items and its pilot manufacturing plant, or at one of the ammunition manufacturing plants or works. The objective during this tour is to give the officer the widest possible developmental opportunity and training in ammunition which the installation can offer, plus the widest possible orientation to senior managerial problems encountered in the accomplishment of that kind of mission. Troop duty dur-

CAREER ASSIGNMENT LADDER

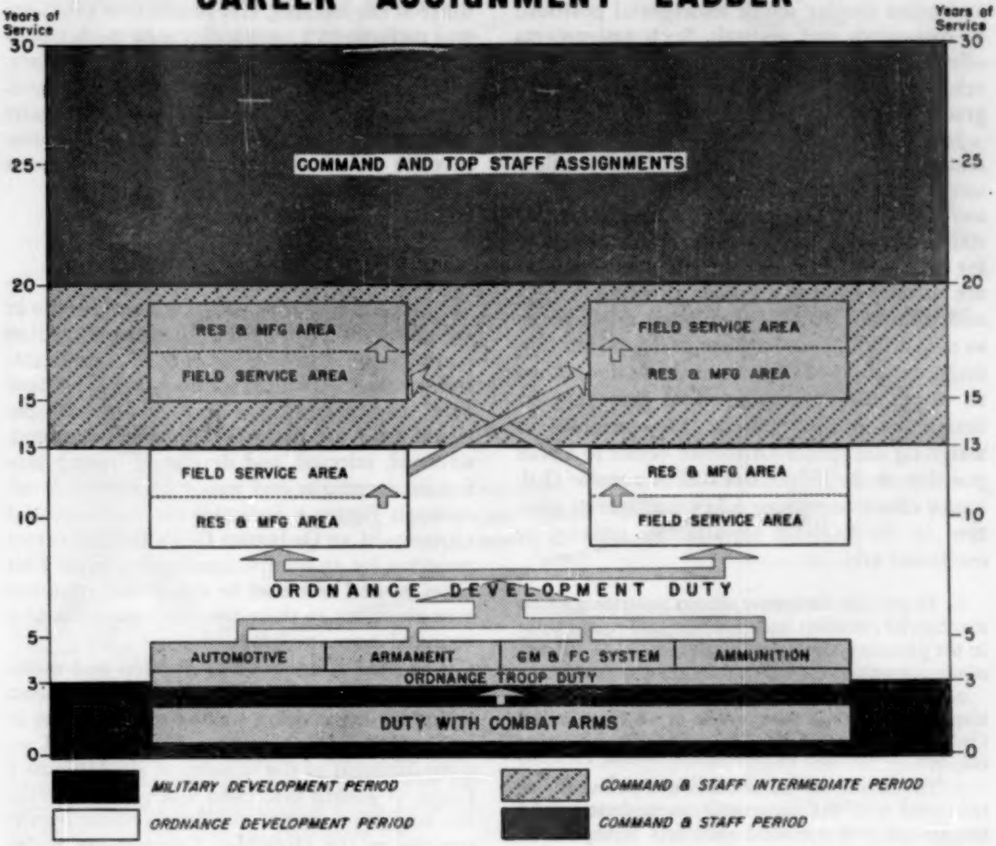

Figure 3

ing the Ordnance developmental period should be with ammunition units.

During his seven-year command and staff intermediate period, the officer will normally serve two tours of duty—one in the area of field service and one in research and manufacturing. The field service tour will provide experience in Ordnance supply management across more than one materiel area. The research and manufacturing tour will be in a materiel area other than that in which the officer has heretofore concentrated, normally in a related area; for example, he may move from ammunition to armament.

Ordnance officer career development opportunities in CONUS commands and installations under command of the Chief of Ordnance are normally of four kinds.

Commanding Officer. This position offers opportunity to exercise managerial ability and enterprise in command of a particular type of Ordnance command in preparation for other senior command and top staff assignments in the United States Army.

Senior Operating Officer and Senior Staff Officer. These positions, which are being identified for Ordnance officer occupancy in Ordnance staffing policies and patterns, include positions such as assistant for supply operations, and assistant for administration and service in depots; assistant commanding officer and executive officer, and division chief, inspec-

tion division, in procurement district offices; and other similar senior managerial positions in commands and arsenals. Such assignments offer continuing managerial and technical developmental opportunities for Ordnance field-grade officers.

Staff Officer and Project Officer to Senior Operating and Senior Staff Officer. These assignments include duty on the immediate staff of any of the officers in senior operating and senior staff managerial assignments. Officers selected for staff assistant or project officer assignments are usually company grade, although majors and, at times, lieutenant colonels may also be so assigned. Officers in these positions are normally designated assistants to the senior officers to whom they are assigned or they may be designated project officers. The purposes in assigning the junior Ordnance officer to a staff position on the immediate staff of a senior Ordnance officer occupying a key managerial position in the CONUS installation, activity, or command are:

1. To provide Ordnance officers occupying senior managerial positions with military staff to aid them in the planning, control, and constant improvement of the operations for which they are responsible.
2. To provide the junior officer the direct attention, guidance, and supervision of an experienced Ordnance officer senior to him, who is also his rating officer.
3. To provide the junior officer at a point early in his career with the opportunity to understand the managerial and technical problems facing senior Ordnance officers in CONUS commands, and as a staff assistant to such an officer to participate *directly* in the solution of major managerial problems.
4. To provide commanding officers and their senior operating and staff officers with maximum flexibility in the assignment of individual junior officers in accordance with their career development needs, while permitting these officers to contribute to installation management.

Junior Engineering Officer. Technically educated Ordnance officers, assigned to senior officers, are often detailed by them to selected elements of a technical organization in an arsenal, such as research and development laboratories and industrial engineering or production activities. As a junior engineering officer, the officer is in a position to contribute significantly to the operation and also to develop his technical knowledge of research, development, industrial engineering, and production problems and methods in a commodity area. Such a position is normally nonsupervisory; if supervisory, it is limited to a staff assigned for a designated technical project. These positions are normally intended to provide developmental opportunity for technically trained Ordnance officers of company grade.

The Ordnance Civilian Career Plan

The Ordnance civilian career plan, as depicted in Figures 4 and 5, is a tool for use in designing career programs for selected civilian occupational career fields. Figure 4 indicates the process by which trainees for the "hard core" career service of a particular occupational field are attracted, considered, tested, screened, selected, and developed during junior, intermediate, and senior periods of development. Figure 5 indicates the four essential elements of an Ordnance Corps civilian career program for an occupational career field. This chart is used as a tool to assure that planners give attention to these necessary elements of a rounded career program.

The plan is designed to develop and maintain a continuing supply of qualified civilian talent for key civilian staffing requirements in occupational fields important to successful accomplishment of the mission of the Ordnance Corps. It affords interested and qualified civilian employees career and development opportunities in the Ordnance Corps vastly wider and more rewarding than would otherwise be available. For each selected occupational area, the plan marshals into a coordinated career program methods and techniques for recruiting and selection, for intern training, for providing Ordnance Corps-wide job opportunities, and for advanced and continuing technical and managerial training.

Assistant Chief of Ordnance for Manpower. This officer is assigned responsibility for (1) staff supervision of Ordnance Corps military and civilian career plans; (2) staff supervision of the civilian career programs necessary to meet staffing requirements for those occupational fields common to the majority of Ordnance installations, e.g., accounting and fiscal, legal, personnel specialist; and (3) providing

FIG. 12A

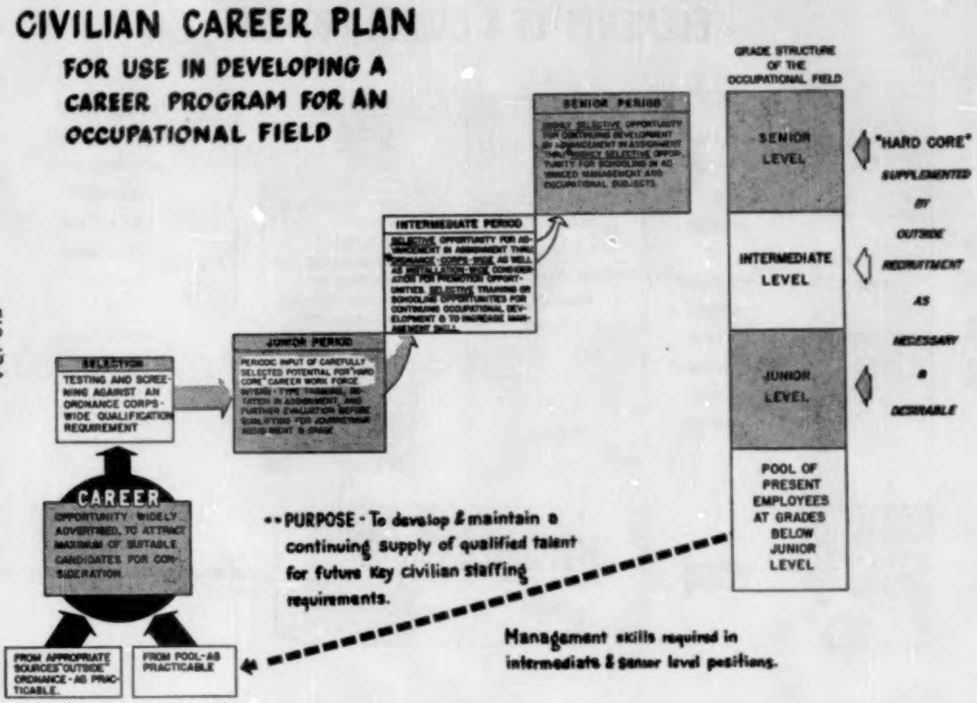

Figure 4

staff services to the Assistant Chiefs of Ordnance in planning and executing civilian career programs for occupational fields peculiar to their assigned mission functions.

Assistant Chief of Ordnance. Each Assistant Chief of Ordnance assigned responsibility for exercising Ordnance-wide staff supervision of a mission function is responsible for civilian career planning and programing for those occupational fields essential to the execution of his mission functions.

Chief of Staff Office. The chief of each staff office, OCO, is assigned responsibility for (1) initiating and recommending to the Office of Manpower the development of Ordnance-wide civilian career programs for those occupational fields related to his assigned staff supervisory functions; and (2) assisting in the execution of such programs.

The Career Planning Task Group. In addition to the civilian career plan depicted in Figures 4 and 5 and the civilian career planning policies and responsibilities that have been described, the need for other devices and tools has become apparent. One need has been for a way to combine the capabilities of *occupational* specialists with those of *personnel* specialists (placement, training, employee relations, salary and wage analysts) in designing career programs for occupational career fields. The experimental device for this purpose has been the career planning task group for a selected career field, which includes personnel and occupational specialists. The assigned mission of the task group is to apply the concepts of the Ordnance civilian career plan to the Ordnance Corps-wide career requirements for the designated career field and to design, in writing, the ordnance civilian career program for that field.

Portraying Corps-Wide Requirements and Opportunities in a Career Field. Visualizing Ordnance Corps-wide requirements and employment opportunities, at a point in time, has

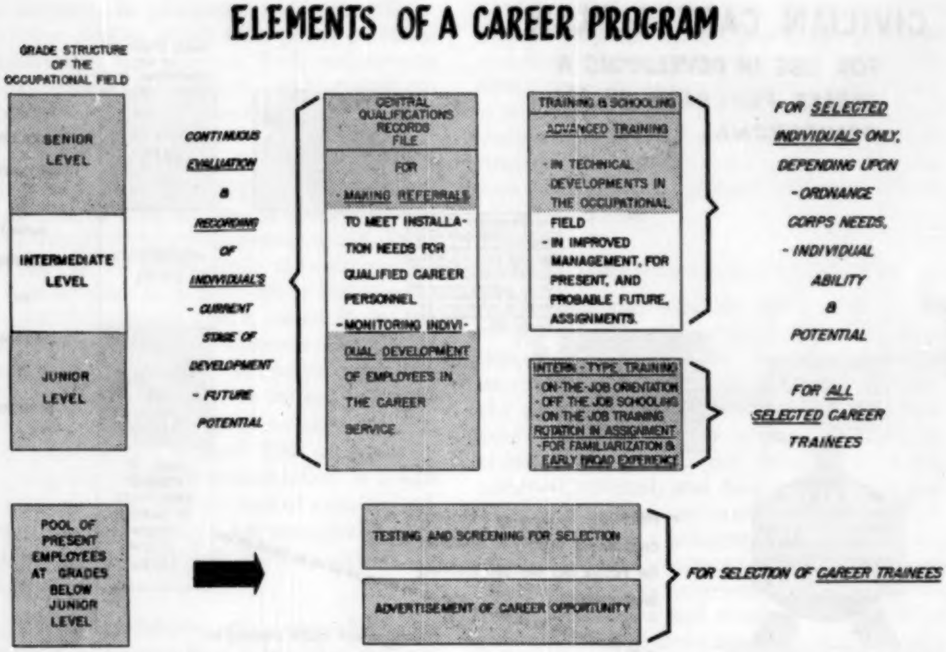

FIG. 12B

Figure 5

been accomplished through the use of what has come to be called a "career cone." If the number of positions at each grade level for a given line of work or occupation are plotted horizontally to scale, beginning at the top with the highest grade level and descending down the chart, the resulting figure normally resembles a cone.

There are two ways of looking at such a "career cone." An employee will be inclined to scrutinize the cone to ascertain the career opportunities represented by it for his line of work. For example, for 125 engineers at grade GS 9, 70 engineer positions at grade GS 11 represent 70 career and advancement opportunities, if through career planning such opportunities are made available to the qualified engineers at GS 9 level. Management, on the other hand, will regard the cone as a representation of talent requirements to get its mission accomplished. Ordnance civilian career planning takes into account *both* points of view.

Cones have been prepared depicting Ordnance Corps-wide requirements and employment opportunities, at certain dates, for a large number of key occupations. The "cones" are strikingly and significantly different. Figure 6 depicts a very conventional cone—the procurement (purchasing) occupational field, GS 2020. The solid cone and the data on the chart are for June 30, 1953. The numbers portray simple statistical data deduced from the cone. These "cones" have proved to be valuable reconnaissance tools in planning career programs.

Determining the Minimum Continuing Career Requirement for the Career Field and the Annual Career Input Requirement. Ordnance Corps employment in some occupational fields fluctuates considerably and the fluctuation is not uniform for all fields. Career planning, then, must be geared to the minimum continuing career requirements and opportunities in the particular line of work and the input of trainees at junior levels must be geared to sup-

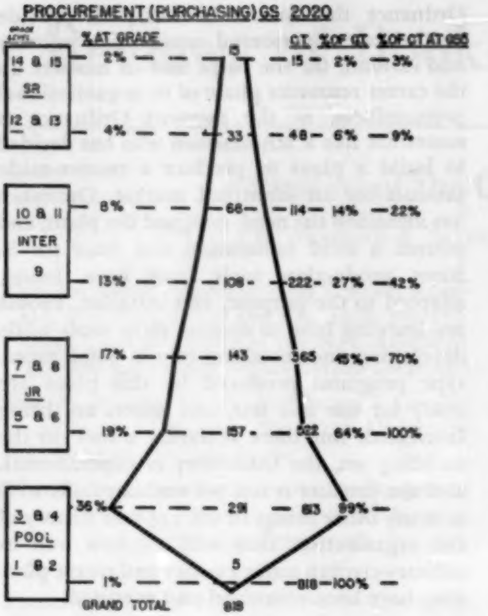

Figure 6

port the career requirement. The task group, using the career cone, computes the estimated annual career input needed to sustain the career requirement.

Visualizing Objectives—"Three-Dimensional Career Managers" for Mission Occupational Fields. The Ordnance Corps requires civilian managerial ability in specialized (functional) occupational fields to complement and support military staffing. In many of the occupations important directly to the accomplishment of mission, the corps requires career civilians who have developed the *managerial* know-how, the *occupational* know-how, and the *commodity* know-how requisite to the holding of senior operating positions. For instance, a civilian chief of an Ammunition Storage Division at a depot is a *manager* of *storage* of *ammunition,* and he must possess managerial know-how in the storage occupational field with respect to ammunition as a commodity. By contrast, among the staff and service functions, the commodity dimension is not so important. For example, a comptroller will be expected to have managerial know-how in the accounting and fiscal occupational fields, but this know-how can be applied equally well in other Army technical services, and in fact in other areas of government or in business, with a minimum of transition training. For this reason, Ordnance is concentrating on planning civilian career programs in the mission occupations in which commodity know-how is important; it anticipates working with higher echelons of the Army in jointly planning and implementing career programs for the staff and service occupations where the commodity dimension is not so significant.

In providing selected career people with the maximum developmental opportunity during their progression from junior to intermediate to senior level positions in a career field, the following emphases are given: (1) early broad familiarization with the total field of work or occupation; (2) specialization in the particular career program, in which the employee is afforded experience in depth in his selected specialty during his late junior, intermediate, and possibly early senior periods; and (3) broad managerial and occupational knowledge for work at the senior levels.

The Ordnance Corps civilian career plan contemplates that the development of *managerial, occupational,* and *commodity* ability will be planned for in each career program, to begin at the entering junior level and to continue through the remainder of the employee's career in Ordnance. The goal is the blending of technical and managerial understanding and ability in a manner appropriate to each of the three levels and three periods of service.

Task Group Handbook. To facilitate the work of task groups a *Civilian Career Planning Task Group Handbook* incorporating these and other concepts, and explaining in detail how to design occupational career programs, has been prepared.

An Ordnance Civilian Career Program for a career field, prepared in writing as a result of the task group's work, includes all four "elements" of the civilian career plan. (Fig. 5.) Such a program document thus specifies the means for (1) attracting, recruiting, and selecting career service trainees, at the designed junior entrance level; (2) intern-type training for career service trainees; (3) advanced training; and (4) a corps-wide central qualifications file

and referral service. The action tools needed to inaugurate all four of these action elements are included in the document.

Status. At this writing, Ordnance has two occupational civilian career programs in operation. Both are undergoing evaluation and further planning for improvement. Task groups have virtually completed program plans for two other career fields, and planning is in process for eleven other selected civilian career fields. When these and other civilian career programs become fully operational, Ordnance will reap in these lines of work the benefits it has received from its one long-standing career program for civilian specialists—the Ordnance ammunition inspector-surveillance career program. Begun in 1922, and still being improved, this single program has met worldwide requirements for ammunition surveillance inspectors.

Conclusion

THE purpose of this staffing policy and career planning work has been to establish in Ordnance the systems necessary to provide needed career personnel capabilities, military and civilian, for the corps and its mission. In the career resources phase of its organizational preparedness, at the moment Ordnance is somewhat like a businessman who has decided to build a plant to produce a custom-made product for an identified market. Ordnance has identified the need, designed the plant, and poured a solid foundation and floor for it. Some production tools have been found, adapted to the purpose, and installed. People are learning how to operate these tools while developing and installing others. Some prototype programs produced by this plant are ready for use and test, and others are being fabricated. But there is hardly a roof on the building yet, the machinery is experimental, and the product is not yet evaluated. As with so many other things in the 144-year history of this organization, time will tell how well its military-civilian staffing policy and career planning have been conceived and executed.

Reviews of Books and Documents

Studies of the Chief Executive

By Wallace S. Sayre, Columbia University

The American Presidency, by Clinton Rossiter. Harcourt, Brace and Co., 1956. Pp. 175. $2.95. (Available also in the New American Library paperbook Signet Series, at $0.35.)

The Presidency Today, by Edward S. Corwin and Louis W. Koenig. New York University Press, 1956. Pp. 138. $3.00.

The Truman Administration; Its Principles and Practice, edited by Louis W. Koenig. New York University Press, 1956. Pp. 394. $5.50.

Eisenhower: The Inside Story, by Robert J. Donovan. Harper and Brothers, 1956. Pp. 423. $4.95.

The Rise of the Vice Presidency, by Irving G. Williams. Public Affairs Press, 1956. Pp. 266. $4.50.

The Office of Prime Minister, by Byrum E. Carter. Princeton University Press, 1956. Pp. 362. $5.00.

These six books add much to our information and knowledge about chief executives. Two of them represent general appraisals of the American Presidency; two of them represent, each in a different way, the presidential records of Harry S. Truman and of Dwight D. Eisenhower; a fifth portrays the shadowy office of the Vice Presidency; and the sixth provides a useful counterpart with its description of the office of the British Prime Minister.

Students and practitioners of public administration will find these volumes useful and rewarding in a number of ways. They provide new insight and information about an institution of great significance but of neglected emphasis in public administration—the office of chief executive, especially the *elected* chief executive. They provide useful models for the analysis and understanding, and no doubt the improvement, of the offices of other chief executives, especially those of state governors, mayors, and the emerging county government executives. They also probe directly and indirectly into some of the major assumptions which the literature of public administration makes about the relationships of administrative agencies to chief executives.

I

Clinton Rossiter's *The American Presidency* is the best general treatise we have yet had on the Presidency. It is brief, but it is also concise and comprehensive. It is written with singular flair, with felicity of style and organization; and it is distinguished by a mature and sophisticated judgment about the Presidency and its place in the American constitutional and political system.

Although the author modestly describes his effort as "at best an impressionistic rendering of the main dimensions" of the Presidency, his six tightly packed chapters capture more of the essence of the contemporary Presidency than any preceding study. The first chapter, "The Powers of the Presidency," enriches our understanding of the office by its novel delineation of *ten* major roles of the President: chief of state, chief executive, chief diplomat, chief legislator, commander-in-chief, chief of party, protector of the domestic peace, voice of the people, manager of prosperity, and leader of a coalition of free nations.

The second chapter, "The Limits of the Presidency," elaborates the "brakes" upon presidential power: the Congress, the courts, the top civil and military officials, the opposition party (and to some considerable extent, his own party), the federal system, the "free enter-

prise" character of our society (with its decentralization of decision-making), the pressures of the overseas coalition leaders, and the restraining effects of public opinion at home.

The third and fourth chapters, "The Presidency in History" and "The Modern Presidency," trace the growth of the office from its eighteenth-century origins to its grand dimensions of the mid-twentieth century. Chapter five deals with "The Modern Presidents": Franklin D. Roosevelt, Harry S. Truman, Dwight D. Eisenhower–appraising each of them against eight tests of presidential greatness, placing F. D. R. among the first five of the great Presidents, Truman among the first eight, and concluding that Eisenhower will probably rank among the first nine. (In chapter three the author places Washington and Lincoln at the top, Jackson and Wilson at the next level, Theodore Roosevelt and Thomas Jefferson just below them.)

Chapter six, "The Presidency Reconsidered," is an evaluation of the criticisms of the Presidency and an appraisal of current proposals to improve the office. After reviewing the suggestions for changing the machinery for nominating and electing the President, for reducing the burdens of the office, for increasing presidential control over the executive branch, for providing closer relationships with Congress, Professor Rossiter concludes, while endorsing several minor proposals for improvement, that "the Presidency is in a sturdy state of health" and "we should confine ourselves to small readjustments"; in short, as he puts it, "leave your Presidency alone."

Professors Corwin and Koenig, in *The Presidency Today,* present a more specialized examination of the presidential office, and they are less inclined than Rossiter to refrain from proposing important changes in the institution. Their study begins with a chapter, "The Presidency in Perspective," which, drawing heavily upon Corwin's *The President, Office and Powers, 1787-1948,* is largely historical and ends upon the familiar and distinctive Corwinian note: "the history of the presidency is a history of aggrandizement." The second chapter, "Of Presidential Prerogative," is concerned with the power "claimed by the President primarily on the basis of the Constitution itself," an appraisal of the aggrandizement which the constitutional phrases conferring power upon the President have undergone.

The focus of attention then shifts, so to speak, from the public law aspects of the Presidency to its political aspects. Chapter three, "Presidential Leadership," presumably the work primarily of Mr. Koenig, deals with the President in four major capacities: discoverer and builder of public sentiment, administrative chief, party leader, and legislative leader. These presidential opportunities and responsibilities are described and appraised cogently and skillfully. In discussing the President as legislative leader, Corwin and Koenig restate the proposal which Mr. Corwin has urged since 1940: that a new type Cabinet be established in which the leaders of Congress would serve as members. Chapter four, "Selection and Tenure," examines with care and precision the proposals for changing the methods of nominating and electing the President, the dilemmas resulting from presidential disability, and the problems of transition between Presidents.

The distinctive feature of the Corwin-Koenig volume, especially in contrast with Rossiter's, is to be found in its concern over the present magnitude of presidential power. The authors view this power as being too personalized, too independent, too large. They seek ways and means to restore and maintain the "national legislative power" and to make it "more readily available" as a balance to presidential power.

In *The Truman Administration; Its Principles and Practices,* Mr. Koenig, as editor, brings to the reader "a conspectus of the Truman administration by means of selected documents." These documents are mainly "representative" Truman addresses, occasionally an official letter or a press interview. The documents are assembled, not chronologically but topically, under six main aspects of the Truman Presidency: the Presidency as Truman conceived the office; administrative chief; popular leader and legislator; organ of foreign relations; commander-in-chief; and the transition of the Presidency to Eisenhower. To these documents, reflecting the Truman Presidency comprehensively in its formal efforts, the editor has added, first, a perceptive introductory essay on the Truman administration as a whole; and, second, editorial paragraphs interpolated fairly

regularly throughout the volume, which serve either to provide the essential background facts for a particular Truman action or to place the Truman administration in the perspective of the history of the Presidency.

The result is both a valuable view of the Truman Presidency, more completely and coherently presented than in any other review of his administration, and a useful model for the examination and appraisal of other administrations. The portrait which emerges is one of a strong President and a growing Presidency. The editor finds some occasional support in the flow of events for his general concern over the amount and nature of presidential power, but the volume reveals more often the beleaguered Presidency than the too-powerful one.

Robert J. Donovan's *Eisenhower: The Inside Story* is a different kind of effort to describe the Presidency in action. The materials used are the more intimate "inside" documents; the effort is not aimed at critical appraisal, but "to give an intimate picture of the varied and critical scenes in the President's life in the White House, in his office, at Cabinet meetings, in private conferences, in the making of high policy—and in some of his lighter moments." Mr. Donovan was given access to the relevant White House records—minutes of Cabinet meetings, staff memoranda, and so forth—and he had the cooperation of administration leaders in recapturing by interview those events on which the records were inadequate. The author organizes this great mass of data into thirty brief, topical chapters in a broadly chronological order.

There is some indication that Mr. Donovan was both overwhelmed by his material and inhibited by it. His decision to be inclusive rather than selective in his examination of the Eisenhower Presidency compelled him to treat even the most complex issues briefly and somewhat superficially. The portrait of the Presidency which emerges lacks both the clarity and the depth which could be anticipated from the use of such complete and intimate records as were made available to him. Certain general impressions do break through the rapid flow of narrative: President Eisenhower is more immersed within the machinery of the Presidency than were his two immediate predecessors; the Cabinet has been more systematically used and made more "efficient," but it does not appear yet to be a decision-making institution; except in a few important foreign policy matters, the President does not himself appear as a decision-maker, seeming instead to serve as moderator over the decisions of others; indeed, an atmosphere of moderation broods over the whole narrative, rarely broken by even a mild approximation of the controversies and debates among men of strong and differing commitments in public policy which in previous administrations preceded the making of major decisions.

In *The Rise of the Vice Presidency* Irving G. Williams argues valiantly for a new concept of this office, tracing patiently the history of nominations to the office, noting hopefully each identifiable instance of care and wisdom in selection, and endorsing with emphasis the recent trends which he perceives as conferring greater powers upon the Vice Presidents. In his fundamental thesis he differs markedly with Rossiter who declares "the Vice Presidency is a hollow shell of an office" which, although "it has perked up noticeably in the past eight years," remains "a disappointment in the American Constitutional system," its powers "the dimensions of impotence, and impotence . . . the mark of a second-class office."

Mr. Williams' case seems to be built less upon the history of the office than upon his hopes and his sense of urgency about preparing the Vice President to assume, if need be, the office of the President. To make his point persuasively, he will need to confront more directly the following dilemmas, among others: the presidential nominee cannot always have his way with the convention in choosing a running mate who will stand close to him in policy and in loyalty to him as President; even when the convention defers to him, the presidential nominee can rarely escape the effects of the same forces that produce a convention choice—the necessities to use the second office to unite the party and maximize electoral support by "balancing" the ticket; once in office, Vice Presidents move toward the congressional orbit, as the Garner, Barkley, and Nixon records reveal; the efforts to build up the assignment of executive branch duties for the Vice President would seem to have sharp limits in

view of the preceding considerations, and the actual record of such efforts (notably with Wallace, Barkley, and Nixon) would seem to reflect, even by the most favorable standards of interpretation, a mixed success from the perspective of the Presidency.

The Office of Prime Minister is a study of interesting contrasts and similarities with the American Presidency. This value is enhanced by the fact that the volume, as the product of an American scholar, uses essentially the same model of analysis that Rossiter, Corwin, and Koenig apply to the Presidency. Professor Carter's first chapter deals with "The Historical Development of the Office of Prime Minister." He then proceeds, in seven chapters, to discuss and evaluate "The Selection of the Prime Minister," "The Prime Minister and the Public," "The Prime Minister and the Party," "The Prime Minister and the Formation of a Government," "The Prime Minister and the Cabinet," "The Prime Minister and the Parliament," and "The Prime Minister and the Conduct of Foreign Affairs and War." These specific appraisals are followed by a chapter of "Some Concluding Observations."

Aware of the dependence of the office of Prime Minister and of the office of the Presidency upon their own special cultural, constitutional, and political environments, Professor Carter prudently refrains from explicit, and especially from invidious, comparisons between the two offices. But it is significant for American readers that this careful, systematic study suggests more fundamental similarities than have more general studies, and that it identifies no urgent respect in which the American model should be refashioned to follow the British.

II

Two contrasting themes or interpretations run through most of the recent discussions of the Presidency. Especially has the popular literature about the office—the debates and writings of the politicians, the columnists, and other general commentators—tended to embrace one of these themes and ride it hard. It is the special mark of the volumes being reviewed here that the authors are aware of these contrasting versions of the Presidency and weigh them carefully before producing their own separate versions of the office.

The first of these themes is that the Presidency is too powerful, too personalized, too independent of the other branches. This is a view which has enduring popularity with the members of Congress and becomes increasingly the interpretation of a political party which successively fails to capture the Presidency. In recent years its most familiar exposition took the form of charges of dictatorship against Franklin D. Roosevelt and of arbitrary action by Harry S. Truman, echoing similar attacks against earlier strong Presidents. This interpretation of the Presidency gets some support, although carefully qualified, from the Corwin-Koenig study. While not explicitly repeating Mr. Corwin's earlier declaration that "presidential power is dangerously *personalized* . . . in two senses: first, that the leadership which it affords is dependent altogether on the accident of personality . . . and, secondly, that there is no governmental body which can be relied upon to give the President independent advice and which he is nevertheless bound to consult," the authors do ask:

> . . . Should one man have available the immense powers that are today the President's for the asking—indeed, for the taking? It seems to the authors that the time has arrived for us to recognize that crisis, and especially international crisis, has become a constant factor of national existence, and that reliance on intermittent recourse to presidential dictatorship is no longer the safe answer. What then is the safe answer? It seems to us that methods must be devised for making the national legislative power more readily available when need for important action arises. (p. vii)

The second version of the Presidency is that, despite the great dimensions of the office, it is a beleaguered institution: powerful in its proposing functions, but weak in disposing; held responsible for the conduct of the executive branch, but without effective control over its feudal principalities; responsible for party leadership, but precariously placed in the party hierarchy; responsible for the most crucial decisions, but inadequately provided with institutions of assistance and advice. In this view the Presidency is more in need of *supporting* than of *controlling* institutions. It

is toward this version of the Presidency that Rossiter inclines; it is this version which tends to be supported by Koenig's materials on the Truman era and by Donovan's chronicle of the Eisenhower years; and it receives indirect endorsement in Carter's study of the Prime Minister. Rossiter states the affrmative case for a strong President most eloquently:

> . . . The strong Presidency is the product of events that cannot be undone and of forces that continue to roll. We have made our decisions for the New Economy and the New Internationalism, and in making them we have made this kind of Presidency a requisite for the effective conduct of our constitutional system. No government can exercise the kind of supervision that ours does over the economy at home or honor the bargains that ours has made abroad unless it has a strong, unified, energetic executive to lead it. (pp. 159-60)

There is a widespread, persistent zeal to "improve" the Presidency. Most of the proposals flow from those who wish to reduce presidential power, to institutionalize the office, or to stabilize its role in the governmental system. It is a significant feature of the studies being reviewed that the authors exhibit a marked caution about all of the hardy perennials of presidential "reform," with one important exception, and are sharply critical of most of them. Some of these proposals may be briefly noted here:

1. Limiting presidential tenure. This "improvement," accomplished by the Twenty-second Amendment, is viewed by Corwin and Koenig as one which will "handicap the future President by posing an absolute terminal point of his service" and "will promote a false sense of security that may . . . hinder the development of those safeguards in which protection against an overweening executive really lies," while Rossiter sharply comments that through this amendment "the opponents of the strong Presidency have struck a mighty blow for their cause."

2. Changing the method of nominating the presidential candidates. The idea of a national primary for the nomination of the President and Vice-President receives no support from these studies.

3. Changing the method of electing the President. None of the current proposals to modify the Electoral College arrangements receive support from these authors; Rossiter, for example, declares: "We should hesitate a long time before replacing a humpty-dumpty system that works with a neat one that may blow up in our faces."

4. Reducing the administrative burdens of the President. While endorsing the trend to relieve the President of "manual duties," the authors exhibit a common caution about the enthusiasm for institutionalizing the President within the Presidency. Rossiter states their general view most succinctly: "The danger [is] that the President might be buried under his own machinery. The institutionalization of the Presidency could be carried so far that the man who occupies it would become a prisoner in his own house, a victim of too much and too rigid organization."

5. Formalizing the relationships of the President with Congress through a new-type Cabinet. This is the proposal which divides the authors of these studies, Corwin and Koenig urging a Cabinet which would, as Corwin put it in an earlier work, be "both capable of *controlling* the President and of *supporting* him," while Rossiter is more concerned with "the other side of the two-way street between President and Congress" (referring to congressional habits of taking over control of parts of the executive branch) and concedes only that the Corwin-Koenig proposal "might be worth a try."

Readers of this *Review* will have a special interest in the evaluation which these volumes provide concerning the President's responsibility for leadership and control of the executive branch and of the broad realm of "administration." In general there is an acceptance of strong presidential leadership in this area, with emphatic approval of the doctrines launched by the President's Committee on Administrative Management in 1937, reiterated by the first Hoover Commission in 1949, and embodied in a significant series of actions to strengthen the President's executive and administrative powers during the past two decades.

But Rossiter, while agreeing generally, notes:

> . . . The "perfect pyramid" of administration is

more a delusion than a panacea; rivalry and friction have virtues of their own . . . the President has responsibilities that range far beyond his formless duty "to produce a good administration." . . . He has other and more important roles to play. . . .

It may well be time to readjust our thinking about the President's responsibility and authority as Chief Executive. If we cannot level the latter up, perhaps we should level the former down. (p. 152)

Those who accept Rossiter's generalizations may still boggle at his conclusion: the intransigent forces of "pluralism, tradition, politics, professionalism, and inertia" which resist presidential supervision, and the limitations of administrative theory when seeking too eagerly the values of symmetry and rationality at the expense of competition and widespread initiative, together constitute formidable barriers to the fuller realization of the President's role as chief administrator. Yet a scaling down of presidential responsibility in this role would seem to be not only a premature retreat, but also to incur risks of unknown proportions to other presidential roles.

III

We now have a great wealth of information and analysis concerning the Presidency: autobiographical, biographical, historical, juridical, managerial, and political. The flow of commentary and of more systematic appraisal is now a steady one, and its continuance will no doubt add regularly to our knowledge about a most important political institution. But it seems probable that both students and practitioners would be greatly helped if future research and analysis were to take on at least two new dimensions.

First, there is great need for the study of elected chief executives in other American settings, using with appropriate adaptation the models of analysis now so fully developed for the study of the Presidency: the several types of governorships in the forty-eight states —"strong," "intermediate," "weak"; the office of mayor in the larger cities, with its varieties of development; and the emerging elected chief executives in urban and suburban county governments. There would be value, too, in comparable studies of appointed chief executives—the city and county managers.

Second, in further studies of the Presidency, it would seem possible now to move on from the wealth of material we have about the constitutional, the institutional, and the functional aspects of the presidential office to a more intimate *operational* view of the President in action.[1] The President has, we have discovered, several important roles to play, several distinctive functions to perform. How, we need to ask, are these roles related to each other—how complementary, how competitive, how dependent upon each other? The President responds to, and draws upon, separate "constituencies" in performing his several functions. What are these "constituencies"; what are their relationships of dependence and competition with each other, and with the President? The President, as "the man all alone at the head," in Rossiter's phrase, has distinctive tasks to perform "all alone." How does he find opportunities for initiative all, or primarily, his own; how does he make sure that the Presidency preserves opportunities for choice in policy and timing for the President himself; how does he find ways and means to persuade others—his "constituencies" or his staff—to do what the President judges ought to be done? The President has acquired help as the responsibilities of his office have grown. In the development of these institutional aids to the President, what are the relative merits for him of "completed staff work" as opposed to competitive advice from varied and changing sources; what are the risks that the process of advice will drain off the essence of presidential opportunity for initiative or choice, leaving for the President only the ratification of pre-formed decisions? How does the President who rules avoid elevation to the President who merely reigns?

[1] For a more complete and perceptive discussion of such an approach to the study of the Presidency, see Richard E. Neustadt, "The Presidency at Mid-Century," a paper presented at the September, 1956, annual meeting of the American Political Science Association.

Research Notes

Compiled by John C. Honey,
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Water Resources Administration and Land Management

Research under way in connection with a number of the current projects supported by Resources for the Future, Inc. promises to be of interest to those concerned with various aspects of resource administration. "Research Notes" has given a brief review of one of these projects—the group of cases on resources administration being developed jointly with The Inter-University Case Program. (See Spring, 1956, *Review*, p. 149.) In this note, several RFF projects in the field of water resources and land use and management are summarized. Relevant research in RFF's programs in the areas of energy and minerals, regional resources, and resources against the background of the national economy will be reported in a future issue of the *Review*.

Water Resources. The interstate compact as an instrument for water resources administration is being analyzed in an RFF-supported study of about a year's duration. The interstate compact has been one of the major instruments utilized in the administration of western interstate streams. For the most part it has been used to establish the right to water of each of the states drained by a given river system. In recent years interstate compacts have been negotiated for the purpose of regulating water pollution, and federal statutes encourage the use of the compact for this purpose.

Although serious problems have been experienced with the interstate compact in water resources administration, it appears that the states will continue to resort to this device, possibly to an increasing extent. Primarily, with the acceptance of water rights as property rights under the tradition which regards the adjudication of these rights as a prerogative of the state governments, and in view of the constitutional requirement that interstate controversies are within the original jurisdiction of the United States Supreme Court, the interstate compact appears to offer the only alternative to costly and time-consuming U. S. Supreme Court litigation to establish state entitlement to the benefits of water development.

The study attempts an objective appraisal of the compact device. It has the following specific aims:

1. To summarize the pertinent facts which portray in proper perspective what has been the experience in the negotiation and administration of interstate compacts, i.e., the difficulties that have been encountered and the circumstances that have favored successful negotiation and administration.

2. To appraise the potentialities and limitations of the interstate compact device for different types of water resources activities, such as planning, division of benefits, development, operation and maintenance of a river basin system, and regulation of pollution.

3. To identify the kinds of difficulties that have been encountered in the negotiation and administration of interstate compacts and to suggest how

NOTE: Readers of *Public Administration Review* are invited to report items of research in progress through Research Notes. A report on any one project should not exceed 300 words and should include information on such matters as the conceptual framework of the study, its aims, tentative conclusions, anticipated uses, sources of information, principal investigators, and expected date of completion.

Research Notes are compiled by three members of the staff of the National Science Foundation: Mrs. Kathryn S. Arnow, John C. Honey, and Herbert H. Rosenberg. Reports should be addressed to John C. Honey, Director of Governmental Studies, National Science Foundation, Washington 25, D. C.

such difficulties might be avoided and how compact administration might be improved.

4. To present other analyses that investigation may show to be appropriate.

The study will use both library and field research. Existing interstate water compacts, relevant statutes and court decisions, and minutes of pertinent compact commission meetings will be analyzed. The views and experience of those who have participated directly in interstate compact activities will be solicited through correspondence and personal consultation.

The project is expected to provide a monograph on the use of interstate compacts in water resources administration. It should clarify much of the current misunderstanding as to the area wherein the compact is a necessary and useful tool for the management of interstate streams. Also, it should suggest how pitfalls experienced in the past can be avoided and how compact negotiation and administration can be improved.

Principal investigator on the project is Norman A. Stoll, formerly general counsel to the Bonneville Power Administration. Mr. Stoll is being assisted by Palmer Smith, an attorney who has served on the staff of the U. S. Bureau of the Budget.

Another RFF project deals with the administration of water resources activities in New York State. The study derives its impetus from the fact that, despite the unresolved public debate over the extent of authority and responsibility for water resources development which should be given to federal, state, and local governments and private enterprise, there is, nevertheless, general agreement that existing state programs should be expanded and that state administration of water resources can and should be strengthened. Only a few states now have state water development programs in which the state finances or constructs water facilities. Moreover, in most states responsibility for the administration of water resources activities is diffused among several agencies without effective means for integrating their efforts.

New York offers an excellent opportunity for an objective case study of water resources administration in a state where problems of water development and management are increasingly urgent. Water requirements for municipal, industrial, agricultural, and recreational purposes are growing rapidly in this densely populated state. Responsibilities for water resources activities are distributed among at least seven state agencies. In addition, there are numerous local and regional agencies and several interstate agencies.

The project has the following specific aims:

1. To describe the nature and extent of the water resources activities of the state of New York.

2. To describe the system of organization and methods of operation of the state agencies which administer these activities.

3. To describe the pattern of working relationships among the state's water resources agencies and between these agencies and the governor, the state legislature, and other state agencies, federal agencies, local agencies, and clientele groups.

4. To describe the political, social, economic, physical, legal, and administrative factors that have determined the extent, character, and system of administration of water resources in the state.

5. To identify the basic administrative, legal, political, and economic problems confronting the state water resources agencies in administering current and prospective state water programs.

The study is not directed to the drafting of recommendations for improving state administration but aims instead to provide objective coverage of the foregoing points. This, it is hoped, will provide a basis for appraising the adequacy of the state programs and the difficulties in improving and strengthening state water resources administration.

The study emphasizes library and field research. State agencies and legislative committees will be visited and consulted. Public agency records will be examined and state officials, present and past, and representatives of agency clientele will be interviewed. It is anticipated that interviews with federal officials and a review of federal-state procedures also will be necessary.

The monograph on water resources administration in New York State which will emerge from this study is expected to provide insight into the problems of state administration which will be valuable to anyone interested in improving and strengthening state activities in the water field. The study may also lay a foundation for improving the system of water

resources organization and administration in New York State.

Professor Roscoe C. Martin, of the Maxwell School of Citizenship and Public Affairs, Syracuse University, is the principal investigator on this project which is expected to reach completion near the end of 1957.

Land Use and Management. Two grants under this phase of the RFF program (which deals largely with the biological and socio-economic problems of forestry) are of interest to readers of the *Review*. The first, dealing with the recreational use of land, is in support of the preparation of a scholarly book on national park policy by Professor Emeritus John Ise, of the University of Kansas Economics Department. Mr. Ise's study, drawing on data compiled and organized over the past decade, will contain historical analyses of the development of each of the major national parks. Emphasis will be placed on policy issues which have been involved and consideration will be given to emerging problems which affect such matters as wildlife, private lands, financing, and state parks. Conflicts of interest between the national parks and alternative land uses such as mining, grazing, lumber, water power, and irrigation will also be discussed. Finally, Mr. Ise will analyze present conditions and offer some suggestions on the future use of the parks.

The interrelationships of federal, state, local, and other public and quasi-public forestry programs are considered in some detail in another RFF-supported project carried on under a grant to the Institute of Public Administration. This project is closely related to studies by RFF staff of federal land administration and draws on them for some of its data. Author of the study is Robert J. M. Matteson, recently appointed executive director of the American Society for Public Administration, who, when previously associated with the IPA, prepared a basic manuscript on this subject. The grant will enable him to broaden the factual base of his work and strengthen its conclusions by adding analyses of certain trends and of current statistical materials.

Further information about these and other projects in the RFF water resources and land use and management programs can be obtained from Edward A. Ackerman (for water resources) and Marion Clawson (for land) of the staff of Resources for the Future, 1145 19th Street, N. W., Washington 6, D. C.

Clinical Study of Research Organizations

A series of clinical studies of research organizations has been undertaken at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology by Herbert A. Shepard, of the Department of Economics and Social Science.

Impetus for this project comes from recognition that relatively little is known about the effects of various institutional styles adapted in organizing research and development activities. Yet the cultural and structural features of an organization, the distribution of decision-making power, and the rules governing interpersonal and intergroup relations are intimately connected with the technical processes and products of research.

Currently under study is England's National Physical Laboratory at Teddington, Middlesex. The laboratory, which enjoys high prestige among the laboratories of the world, combines the functions of a governmental bureau of standards with those of a central institute for fundamental research. The study will inquire into the organizational structure of the laboratory and its relation to the government. Particular emphasis will be placed on decision-making processes; methods and consequences of control of program and personnel; interpersonal relations among scientists; achievement criteria and rewards; selective processes determining mobility of scientists into, within, and out of the laboratory; relations among groups and levels of the hierarchy; leadership styles within departments; and motivation of research, service, and administrative personnel. The National Science Foundation and the Office of Naval Research are supporting the project.

The results of some earlier studies in the series are already available: *The Value System of a University Research Group, Patterns of Organization for Applied Research and Development, Some Social Attributes of Industrial Research and Development Groups,* and *Nine Dilemmas in Industrial Research.* Professor Shepard may be addressed at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Cambridge 39, Massachusetts.

Decision-Making in Business Organizations

A group of field studies of the decision-making process in business organizations has been undertaken at the Graduate School of Industrial Administration at Carnegie Institute of Technology, under a grant from the Ford Foundation. The aim of the project is to contribute to the understanding of "rational" choice or decision processes in complex situations such as are encountered by business managers and administrators.

Thus far, one major decision in each of three firms has been observed: a construction firm which was concerned about necessary expansion of storage facilities, a steel mill concerned over safety, and a merchandising firm considering electronic processing of accounting data. In each of these situations one or more research people spent substantially full time in the organization while the problem was being considered. In addition to obtaining formal and informal interviews, they made more or less complete transcripts of the conferences at which these problems were dealt with and had access to all relevant memorandums and correspondence. Day-to-day activities of organization members were also observed.

Some of the general kinds of analyses that appear possible with the resulting data are:

1. Methods of selection by the organization of problems to which it will "pay attention."
2. Organization goals as perceived by different members and effects of discrepancies in goal-perception.
3. The organization's decision-making machinery in terms of generally applicable routines such as holding conferences, checking on competitors, and employing consultants.
4. Changes in members' conceptions of problems as a result of exchange of information and opinion and the integration of individual contributions to problem solution in the conference setting.

Discussion of the third of these kinds of analyses may be found in the October, 1956, issue of the *Journal of Business*. Other preliminary analyses will be forthcoming during the next year.

The project is under the general direction of Professor Herbert A. Simon. Its research staff includes people from economics, psychology, and industrial administration.

Metropolitan St. Louis Survey

The Metropolitan St. Louis Survey, consisting of a series of comprehensive governmental, social, and economic studies of the St. Louis metropolitan area, with particular reference to the city of St. Louis and St. Louis County, is under way. The survey, financed by grants of $250,000 from the Ford Foundation and $50,000 from the McDonnell Aircraft Corporation Trust to St. Louis and Washington Universities, began in June, 1956, and is expected to reach completion around September, 1957.

The project has four principal purposes:

1. To prepare proposals for consideration by a board of freeholders to be appointed in accordance with Article 30 (a) of the Missouri Constitution. The objectives of the proposals will be to (a) remedy the major ills arising out of the present pattern of government in St. Louis and St. Louis County and (b) provide means of meeting major metropolitan needs, present and future. If approved by separate popular votes in the city and the county, the charter drafted by the board will adjust intergovernmental relations between the city and the county of St. Louis.
2. To furnish for consideration of citizens in other metropolitan areas (a) an appraisal of methods used to gather information on metropolitan problems, (b) an analysis of the attitudes toward government of residents in a metropolitan area, and (c) an evaluation of referendum campaign techniques and an assessment of their effectiveness.
3. To aid in the development of a systematic conceptual framework within which research in the general field of metropolitan government may be more meaningfully conducted.
4. To increase the supply of research workers trained in metropolitan government. This end will be accomplished by student participation in each main phase of the project and by a formal seminar conducted by the senior staff members. The students enrolled in the course will receive academic credit from either St. Louis University or Washington University.

The research design currently consists of six major types of investigations: governmental jurisdictions; functional services; finance and revenue; population, land use, and economic developments; social areas; and citizen participation and interest in government. Data in

these fields will be collected and collated primarily on the basis of a number of working hypotheses, some of which will be tested by an attitude and participation study.

The Metropolitan St. Louis Survey is interested in receiving communications from individuals and organizations recently completing analyses or presently working in any of these fields of inquiry or in allied areas of investigation. Correspondence should be addressed to John C. Bollens, Executive Officer and Director of Research, Metropolitan St. Louis Survey, 8147 Delmar Blvd., University City 24, Missouri.

Values of Officials Dealing with Juvenile Offenders

The nature and influence of the personal values and assumptions of public officials who deal with juvenile offenders were the subject of an undergraduate research project recently completed at Swarthmore College with the aid of a Social Science Research Council Undergraduate Research Stipend. The study attempted (1) to identify such values among a group of police, detention home, welfare, and court personnel; (2) to consider the range of variation of values; (3) to discover the extent to which correctional approaches adopted by various officials were related to their private notions; and (4) to examine any contrasts between these approaches and local statutory provisions relating to juvenile offenders. A 15-week field study centering in a county detention unit for juvenile offenders was undertaken. Juvenile court and police and probation bureaus were the sites of the remainder of the inquiry.

Observation of juvenile case investigations, detention home routines, court hearings, and case dispositions revealed a wide variety of correctional practices and attitudes toward young offenders. At the same time, open-ended interviews with officials involved indicated many differences in their assumptions and values.

In general, there appeared to be a group of officials who emphasized the correction of offenders through positive motivation and another group who emphasized negative motivation. Those inclined toward positive motivation stressed that the offender must develop constructive channels for his energies with a minimum of anxiety over past behavior. The negative school of thought insisted that the offender must feel the distasteful consequences of his behavior and emphasized the situations that he must avoid. The contrast between these two general correctional approaches was found to exist in disciplinary practices and detention routines, affecting the degree of personalized handling offered to offenders and the relative emphasis placed on guilt feelings. Conflicts were noted between officials who followed opposite correctional approaches. A number of correctional practices were also found to be in contrast to statutory provisions with regard to such basic matters as the aims of correction, the functions of juvenile detention, the classification of juveniles as delinquents, and the age limitations for handling individuals as delinquents.

Four hypotheses developed on the basis of these general differences were: (1) that there were marked contrasts among the assumptions and values of officials involved toward juvenile offenders; (2) that certain of these contrasts underlay approaches followed by these officials; (3) that such contrasts among correctional approaches were a source of inefficiency and failure in the correction of offenders; and (4) that certain correctional approaches contrasted with the statutory provisions.

Discussion of these research findings and of some of their implications for the larger population of law enforcement and correctional officials was embodied in a senior honor thesis by the investigator, Peter Brand Lenrow. His adviser was Professor Murray Stedman of the Swarthmore Political Science Department.

Administrative Influences on Teacher Satisfaction and Effectiveness

A study that attempts to determine some of the relationships between differing procedures in school administration and variables such as teachers' job satisfaction, effectiveness, and confidence in administrative leadership is now nearing completion at the Midwest Administration Center of the Department of Education of the University of Chicago. This is a center for research and training in educational administration. Earlier studies by the center had indicated the importance of the relation-

ship between the professional leadership of school administrators and teachers' job satisfaction. In order to probe further into this matter the center in September, 1955, began the present study which involves twenty-five schools in the Chicago area.

The project is concerned with the effects of differing administrative procedures upon these experimental variables: (1) teachers' perceptions of their own behavior; (2) teachers' perceptions of principals' expectations regarding teacher behavior; (3) principals' awareness of the nature of these perceptions by teachers; (4) teachers' self-ratings of job satisfaction, confidence in leadership, and effectiveness; and (5) principals' ratings of teacher effectiveness. During the experimental period of the study, the principals of the participating schools carried out varying administrative procedures. Pre-experimental and post-experimental testing with regard to the variables under study is expected to reveal the nature of the relationships among these variables and the changes in these relationships over time resulting from the administrative procedures. The study should be completed sometime in the fall of 1956.

The investigation has been carried out by the staff associates of the Midwest Center under the direction of Francis S. Chase, chairman of the Department of Education and director of the center. The associates are experienced school administrators whose work with the center forms a major part of their continuing professional training in educational administration. Other members of the staff of the Midwest Center and of the Department of Education have been involved in this study as consultants.

A new study, initiated in the fall of 1956, continues the exploration of these phenomena and their interrelationships through the investigation of actual administrative situations in school systems. In addition to these studies of teachers' job satisfaction, morale, and effectiveness, the Midwest Center is completing several studies begun earlier in its program. These include investigations of the intermediate unit of school administration, of school-community communications, and of factors influencing the effectiveness of citizens' committees in education.

Study of Management in Iranian Seven Year Plan Organization

At the invitation of the government of Iran and the United States International Cooperation Administration, the Governmental Affairs Institute will undertake a two-year survey of principal management problems of Iran's Seven Year Plan Organization. The purpose of this survey is to suggest improvements which might be made in the organization procedures, accounting systems, personnel practices, and related management activities within the Seven Year Plan Organization. The Plan Organization is the government agency with responsibility for formulating and carrying out the economic and social improvement program of the country with funds available from oil revenues.

The Governmental Affairs Institute has established a senior committee to supervise this project consisting of Edward H. Litchfield, chairman of the Board of Directors of the Governmental Affairs Institute and also chancellor of the University of Pittsburgh; Luther Gulick, president of the Governmental Affairs Institute and of the Institute of Public Administration; and John J. Corson, a partner in McKinsey & Company and a visiting professor of administration, Cornell University. Two members of this committee have been to Iran to survey the problem initially, and with their return the staff is being formally recruited and organized to undertake the project.

The Governmental Affairs Institute hopes to relate this project to the comparative public administration study of the American Political Science Association. The project's research design is now being reformulated. It is expected that the knowledge gained from this international survey will be of considerable value in throwing new light on comparative public administration.

Contemporary Topics

Compiled by Opal D. David

New Management at "1313"

Public Administration Clearing House is transferring to Public Administration Service its responsibility for the operation of the center at 1313 East 60th Street, Chicago, as of December 31, 1956. Arrangements for the transfer were ratified at a meeting of the Board of Trustees of Public Administration Service on October 1. Certain of the general functions of the Clearing House have been transferred to other organizations and those that cannot be transferred will be discontinued.

PACH, which was founded at the end of 1930, devoted much of its initial effort to the formation of the "1313" center—encouraging appropriate professional organizations already established to make their headquarters there and helping to start organizations in fields where none existed. Its central operations were financed with the aid of grants from the Spelman Fund of New York, Inc., which dissolved in 1948 after making its final grants. The Clearing House itself was not endowed and, on the expiration of its long-term support grants, its Board of Trustees concluded that with the completion of its developmental phase its program should be liquidated and responsibility for the management of the "1313" center should be transferred to the organizations housed there.

The funds to erect the "1313" building, which was occupied in 1938, were also provided by the Spelman Fund through a grant to the University of Chicago, on whose land it stands, stipulating that it was to be used for the accommodation of the Clearing House and associated organizations in the field of public administration. Under this agreement the students and faculty of the university were authorized to use the library and other materials of the "1313" center. This arrangement will be continued under the new agreement.

Twelve principal organizations of public officials and agencies in the field of government administration and nine affiliated groups maintain headquarters at "1313." All of the organizations are represented on the Board of Trustees of Public Administration Service, so the new management of the building will be in the hands of an organization in which each association has a voice and to which each organization will contribute for the support of the common services and facilities.

The "1313" organizations—all sharing a common interest in the improvement of administrative organization, techniques, and methods in government—have found that their community headquarters facilitates various cooperative enterprises. An example is the Joint Reference Library which contains a pooled collection of over 125,000 items and constitutes one of the best sources available for information on administrative methodology. The JRL and most of the other cooperative activities will be continued after the liquidation of PACH.

The regular programs of the organizations at the "1313" center are not affected by the change of management since they have always been autonomous. These organizations are: American Municipal Association, American Public Welfare Association, American Public Works Association, American Society of Planning Officials, Civil Service Assembly of the U.S. and Canada, Council of State Governments, Federation of Tax Administrators, International City Managers' Association, Municipal Finance Officers Association of the U. S. and Canada, National Association of Assessing Officers, National Association of Housing and

Redevelopment Officials, and Public Administration Service. The American Society for Public Administration, housed at "1313" since its establishment, moved to new headquarters at 6042 Kimbark Street, one block away, September 1, 1956, since it needed more space for its expanded program than was available at "1313." It maintains close working relations with "1313." Public Administration Service will continue to pursue its growing program of service to governmental agencies in the fields of surveys, installations, research, and publications.

The Clearing House has been engaged over the years in many activities of a pioneering nature in addition to its work at "1313." It has taken particular interest in the international field and in assistance to officials in newly self-governing countries. In the last six years it has had short-term project grants from the Ford Foundation to assist its national and international projects. In 1955, 200 foreign officials visited "1313" under a program sponsored by the Clearing House with the assistance of the other associations.

The first director of the Clearing House was Louis Brownlow, who served from 1930 to 1945. Herbert Emmerich has been director from 1945 to date.

Tenth IIAS Congress

The Tenth International Congress of Administrative Sciences was held in Madrid, Spain, September 3-8, twenty-six years after the first congress in that city which led to the creation of a permanent International Institute of Administrative Sciences. The Congress attracted 450 participants from sixty countries and six international organizations, the largest attendance in its history. The director general, Paul A. Schillings, reported that the institute now has twenty-seven member states and national sections—groups of interested officials and professionals—in about the same number of countries. Permanent headquarters of the institute are in Brussels, Belgium.

The main topic of the Congress was "Procedures for the Preparation and Implementation of Administrative Reform," and William A. Finan, assistant director for management and organization, U. S. Bureau of the Budget, Washington, D. C., led the discussion on this subject.

National papers contributed to the congress by U.S. representatives were: "Contracts of Public Authorities for the Carrying Out of Public Works," by Edward C. Sweeney and John W. Fretz, General Services Administration, Washington, D. C., and "Present Tendencies in the Post Entry Training of Higher Grade Civil Servants," by Ross Pollock, U. S. Civil Service Commission.

Two special meetings devoted to the teaching of administrative sciences brought together professors of public administration and administrative law. Paul M. Herzog, associate dean of the Graduate School of Public Administration, Harvard University, was chairman of these sessions.

Among the newly-elected officers of the institute are Frantz Hvass of Denmark, who became president of the institute to succeed René Cassin of France; Alvin Roseman, director of public services, U. S. International Cooperation Administration, who succeeds Donald C. Stone as chairman of the Committee on Administrative Practices and as a member of the institute's executive committee; and Luiz Simoes Lopes of Brazil, president of the Getulio Vargas Foundation, who was elected a vice president of the institute. M. René Cassin and Professor Gascon y Marin of Spain (one of the institute's founders) were elected honorary presidents.

Twenty-two U. S. delegates took part in the Congress. Members of the Executive Committee of the United States Section of the International Institute (the section is a standing committee of the American Society for Public Administration) who attended the congress included Herbert Emmerich, chairman of the section; Mr. Finan, Mr. Herzog, Mr. Roseman, Mr. Stone, and Charles S. Ascher.

Important decisions taken during the congress by the Executive Committee and the Council were: (1) that Yugoslavia would undertake the organization in that country of the 1957 Round Table; (2) that the principle of the merger of *Progress in Public Administration* and the *International Review of Administrative Sciences* be adopted as from January 1, 1957; and (3) that the principle of the adoption of Spanish as an official language, on the

same basis as English and French, be adopted as soon as Spanish-speaking countries become member states of the institute.

International Housing and Planning Meeting

The 23rd Congress of the International Federation for Housing and Town Planning, held in Vienna, July 22-28, 1956, drew more than 900 registered participants from thirty-six countries of Europe, the Americas, Asia, and Africa.

The theme of the congress, "The City and Its Surroundings," was discussed in six study groups. Their conclusions and recommendations were approved by the congress in some forty-four resolutions looking toward better planning of metropolitan areas. There were also meetings of six standing committees of the federation.

Exhibits based on the theme of the congress were shown by twenty-one countries. The Puerto Rican Planning Board and Massachusetts Institute of Technology represented the United States.

The International Challenge Cup for films, offered by the city of Vienna, was won by "It Can Be Done," prepared by the University of Pennsylvania for the International Cooperation Administration. Thirty-two films were entered from ten countries, including five from the United States prepared by the Twentieth Century Fund, The American Institute of Architects, ACTION (American Committee to Improve Our Neighborhoods), the International Cooperation Administration, and the Atlanta Chamber of Commerce.

It was voted to hold the 25th Congress in Puerto Rico in 1960, on invitation of Rafael Picó, Secretary of the Treasury of the commonwealth. This will be the first congress in the western hemisphere since 1938. The 24th Congress will be in Liége, Belgium, in 1958, the theme being "Regional Man."

The Council of the federation, a smaller assembly consisting mostly of representatives of member bodies, will meet in Berlin in 1957.

Amendments to the Civil Service Act

Two changes affecting the terms of office of members of the U. S. Civil Service Commission and the distribution of administrative responsibility among them are included in Public Law 854, 84th Cong., 2d sess.

Under the new provisions, which are to take effect on March 1, 1957, the term of office of each member of the commission is to be for a period of six years on a staggered schedule requiring one new appointment every two years. In order to make the transition from the present plan, under which commissioners serve at the pleasure of the President, the expiration dates for the terms of the commissioners holding office on March 1, 1957, will be designated by the President, one at the end of two years, one at the end of four years, and one at the end of six years from that date. Appointments made to fill vacancies occurring prior to the expiration of a term will be limited to the remainder of that term, except that a commissioner may continue to serve after expiration of his term until his successor is appointed and has qualified.

The other change, also scheduled to take effect March 1, 1957, provides that "in addition to designating a Chairman of the Commission from time to time, . . . the President shall from time to time designate one of the Commissioners as Vice Chairman of the Commission" to act during the absence or disability of the chairman or in the event of a vacancy in that office. The act provides further that in the event of vacancies in the offices of all three commissioners or their absence or disability, the executive director shall perform their functions, but shall "at no time sit as a member or acting member of the Commission."

The above amendments are contained in Title II of Public Law 854. Other important provisions are contained in Title I, which increases the basic pay rates for most top-level positions in the federal service both inside and outside the competitive career group, and Title IV, which amends the Civil Service Retirement Act to allow for increased coverage and higher benefits for various groups of federal employees.

Administrative Vice President Proposal

The Subcommittee on Reorganization of the Senate Committee on Government Operations held public hearings January 16, 24, and 25,

1956, on the administrative work load of the President of the United States. A considerable portion of the testimony presented related to a proposal made by former President Herbert Hoover that Congress create a statutory position of administrative vice president in the Executive Office; and the subsequent report of the committee is directed primarily to this recommendation.

For background purposes, the report lists the most significant actions in recent years to lighten the burdens of the Presidency as (1) creation of the Executive Office of the President in 1939, following the report of the President's Committee on Administrative Management; (2) passage in 1950 of the McCormack Act which expressly authorized the President, subject to certain limitations, to delegate functions vested in him by law to the head of any department or agency in the executive branch; and (3) the granting of authority to the President by the Reorganization Act of 1949, as amended, to submit reorganization plans to the Congress relative to abolishing, transferring, consolidating, and relocating executive agencies.

The report then summarizes briefly the testimony or written statements it received from such experts as former President Harry S. Truman, Sherman Adams, Robert Merriam, Louis Brownlow, Edward S. Corwin, and James Hart, a majority of whom opposed the proposal.

In conclusion, the report presents the subcommittee's finding that "no further statutory authority is presently required to enable the President to delegate the performance of administrative functions which may be an unnecessary burden upon him." As for the specific proposal for creating the position of administrative vice president, the members of the subcommittee agreed that "the Congress should not take the lead in diluting the President's responsibilities or functions . . . unless such legislative authority is actively sought from the Congress by the President. Authority for the establishment of the office of Administrative Vice President is not now being so sought. For this reason, the subcommittee recommends against the establishment of such an office at this time."

Limited quantities of the full hearings and the subcommittee report (S. Rept. No. 1960, 84th Cong., 2d sess.) are available on request from the Senate Committee on Government Operations.

White House Office Space Shortage

Space problems resulting from the increasing size of the staff attached to the Executive Office of the President prompted the passage of legislation by the last Congress "to provide for a President's advisory commission on presidential office space." Members appointed to the commission are Senators Dennis Chavez (D) New Mexico and Roman L. Hruska (R) Nebraska; Representatives Howard W. Smith (D) Virginia and J. Harry McGregor (R) Ohio; General Services Administrator Franklin G. Floete; Robert V. Fleming, president and chairman of the board of Riggs National Bank, Washington, D. C.; and Douglas William Orr, architect, New Haven, Connecticut. The group is scheduled to make its recommendations by February 1, 1957.

Federal Records Management Clinics

The General Services Administration is completing the second group of a series of records management clinics for federal officials and agencies in the field designed to encourage and promote the simplification and reduction of paper work, as recommended by the second Hoover Commission. Heads of offices, management personnel, and other field officials concerned with the problem are invited to attend the clinics which are held under the sponsorship of GSA regional offices.

The first series of clinics, scheduled during May and June, 1956, consisted of two-day sessions in nineteen large cities including Providence, Los Angeles, Pittsburgh, Detroit, and New Orleans—to give an idea of the geographical coverage. The current series, which has been cut to one-day sessions, has been scheduled in twenty-eight cities.

The clinics are planned with a maximum audience of about 50, but in one city—Philadelphia—over 150 asked to attend. The sessions consist mainly of lectures keyed to graphic charts, followed by question and answer periods. Participants receive kits containing

letter-size reproductions of the charts used during the lectures, seventeen check lists covering all aspects of records management, excerpts from the Federal Reports Act of 1950, and a copy of the Hoover Commission *Task Force Report on Paperwork Management.*

These meetings supplement Interagency Records Administration Conferences which meet regularly in Boston, New York, Atlanta, Chicago, Kansas City, Dallas-Fort Worth, Denver, San Francisco, Seattle, and Washington, D. C., to provide training and exchange of information.

In announcing the original series of records management clinics last spring, Franklin G. Floete, administrator of General Services, noted that the government has succeeded for two years in a row—1954 and 1955—in getting rid of records faster than they were created. He also called attention to the fact that many agencies are now undertaking studies of long-standing paper work problems and that government records centers are nearing the Hoover Commission goal of having one-half of all federal records stored in low-cost space.

Workshops in Applied Management for Visiting Officials

As part of its program of technical cooperation in governmental administration, the Public Administration Division of the International Cooperation Administration is conducting a series of international workshops in applied management for top-level and middle-level governmental officials selected from countries participating in its program.

The workshops, which run for a period of about four weeks each, are designed to supplement the individual programs which are worked out for each official visiting the United States on the basis of discussions with a public administration adviser assigned to him. In planning these individual programs, special attention is given to the home country administrative needs of the participant, and arrangements are made for practical observation in the appropriate governmental agencies, actual field experience, and the opportunity to audit in-service training programs or related course work at local universities.

The workshop brings together a number of these individuals—officials from diverse cultures and governmental situations—and attempts to help them, as a group, to analyze the vast array of managerial concepts and practices to which they are being exposed and to identify those which can be applied with beneficial results to their own situations.

The initial phase of the workshop undertakes to give the participants a general understanding of what "management" is by discussing what managers actually do and the managerial objectives they seek to accomplish. Within this framework such managerial techniques as organization planning, work simplification, training courses, survey techniques, job descriptions, and communications are explored. To support the thesis that fact-finding is the foundation for management improvement, a large number of sessions are focused on equipping the participants for the conduct of management surveys.

In evaluating the success of this workshop activity, ICA training officials have concluded that the most important result was the participants' greater regard for and increased understanding of the systematic and human approach to managerial improvements. The pressure for quick and absolute answers grew less as they became familiar with the basic fact-finding and analytical tools and began to see how these could be used at home to detect problems and arrive at solutions appropriate to the local environment. The workshop experience appears to give more meaningful substance to the often-used but little understood slogan, "adapt but not adopt."

Central Index of Educational Exchanges

The Institute of International Education, with financial assistance from the Ford Foundation, has established a cumulative roster of Americans who have gone abroad and people from other countries who have come to the United States for educational purposes. This central index is designed to serve four major purposes: (1) to provide the statistical data for the publication, *Open Doors,* issued annually by the institute, which presents a statistical report of much of the population involved in international educational exchange; (2) to provide source material for evaluative studies of

the effects of international educational exchange; (3) to provide information which can be used to determine areas of greatest need for educational exchange programs; and (4) to serve as a comprehensive roster of persons with international training and experience for recruiting needs of business firms and other organizations.

Since the central index would be of only limited historical interest if it were not kept current, the institute plans to maintain it as a cumulative roster, adding each year the results of various surveys and reports from sponsoring agencies and organizations.

Requests for information and other inquiries should be addressed to: Central Index of Educational Exchangees, Institute of International Education, 1 East 67th Street, New York 21, New York.

Presidential Foreign Aid Study

The foreign aid policies and programs of the United States, already under study by the House Foreign Affairs Committee and the Senate Foreign Relations Committee (See Summer, 1956, *Review,* p. 240) will also be reviewed by a seven-member group appointed by President Eisenhower and designated as his Citizen Advisers on the Mutual Security Program. Chairman of this special study committee is Benjamin F. Fairless, former chairman of the board of U. S. Steel. Other members are Colgate W. Darden, Jr., president of the University of Virginia; Richard R. Deupree, chairman of the board of Procter and Gamble; John L. Lewis, president of the United Mine Workers of America; Whitelaw Reid, chairman of the board of *The New York Herald-Tribune;* Walter Bedell Smith, former director of the Central Intelligence Agency; and Jesse W. Tapp, vice chairman of the board of the Bank of America in Los Angeles. The committee plans to make a preliminary report by December 1, 1956, and a final report, including recommendations on future foreign aid policies, on or before March 1, 1957.

Census of Governments Scheduled for 1957

Funds were appropriated at the last session of Congress to enable the U. S. Bureau of the Census to proceed in 1957 with its regular census of local government units and the collection of statistical information regarding their operations.

This census, which originated in Civil War times, has been taken early in each decade since then through 1942. A similar census was authorized by Congress in 1952 but no funds were approved for that purpose until this year.

Planning and preparatory steps for the 1957 census are already in process. An important preliminary operation is the classification and identification of all individual units of local government in the nation. For this purpose, the bureau must first analyze the statutes of the 48 states to determine the classes of local governments authorized in each state and then develop, on the basis of current records and interviews with county officials, a classified list of governmental units in existence in 1957 in each county and state in the country, supported by a file of information concerning the name, type, address, and size of each such governmental establishment. This operation, which will provide the basis for mailing lists to be used in the collection of other types of census data, is now under way and will probably be completed early in 1957.

All of the government units identified will be asked to furnish employment and payroll statistics and financial data indicating revenues by major source, expenditures by major function and by character, and total financial assets. It is tentatively planned that the employment and payroll statistics will be requested for the month of April, 1957, with collection and processing of the data scheduled to cover a five-month period beginning the following May. Requests for financial data will not be sent out until the close of the 1957 fiscal years of the governments concerned. Since most states and many local governments end their fiscal years on June 30, collection of these data will begin in the summer of 1957, but completion of this phase will have to go over into 1958 to allow for returns from governments closing their fiscal years on December 31.

In addition to the above types of information, the bureau plans to include in the 1957 census some information concerning property assessments and the relation of property values as assessed for taxation to current sales values

of such properties. As proposed, this operation will involve analysis of some 100,000 sample transactions in approximately 1,100 of the nation's 3,000 counties. The product of this undertaking will be a series of statewide ratios reflecting the average relationship of assessed value to sales value in each state. A major portion of the work on this phase of the census will be undertaken in the calendar year 1957 and will be related back to the assessed values set on property in early 1957. Processing and tabulation of the results will probably be completed late in 1957 or early in 1958.

Municipal Tax Trends

The property tax—long the standard source of revenue for city governments—is being supplemented more and more by sales and income taxes. In addition, some cities are making special charges for such services as garbage collection and sewer service.

Details of this changing pattern of municipal finance are contained in a publication of the Municipal Finance Officers Association, *Municipal Nonproperty Taxes 1956*, supplement to *Where Cities Get There Money*. The new report gives information on twelve nonproperty taxes and two service charges and lists by name more than 800 cities with a population of over 10,000, giving the kinds of taxes they impose and the yield for each tax.

The report shows that during the last five years more communities adopted the sales tax than any other nonproperty tax. City income taxes have become more frequent since 1951 but are still limited to the four states in which they were first used: Kentucky, Ohio, Missouri, and Pennsylvania. Pennsylvania cities make the most use of this tax, 420 municipalities in that state having adopted it as of April, 1955.

In analyzing the reasons for the new trends in municipal financing, the report calls attention to changes in population since 1946 which have altered the tax picture and created a need for sources of revenue in addition to the property tax. For instance, the higher birth rate of the postwar years increased the amount of money needed for schools. The shift of population from the central part of cities to outlying areas called for new services and meant that older services had to be expanded. Another aspect of this movement out of the cities was the establishment of homes outside the area where people worked or traded and the resulting loss in property taxes to the city. This explains in part the spate of nonproperty taxes like sales and income taxes in the postwar years.

Where special service charges are being levied, they apply most frequently to garbage or refuse collection and to sewer rental. Since these services are among the most expensive of city functions, the amount of revenue available for other municipal operations can be greatly increased if these costs can be met by special charges, and some cities are adopting this way of improving their financial situation in preference to increasing existing tax rates or imposing taxes on new items. As of February, 1956, more than 300 cities with over 10,000 population charged their residents for garbage collection and about the same number were collecting sewer rentals.

Municipal Nonproperty Taxes may be purchased from MFOA, 1313 East 60th Street, Chicago 37, Illinois. Price: $2.50.

Sites for Schools and Parks

The rapid growth in subdivision activity during recent years has made it difficult for the affected localities to acquire land for schools and parks to serve their growing populations.

In some areas, subdividers have responded to persuasion by local officials and have agreed voluntarily to provide the needed school and recreation sites. In others it has been necessary to resort to legal measures at the state or local level. In such cases, the laws generally require subdividers to (1) reserve land, which the local authorities then buy; (2) dedicate land outright; or (3) pay a fee in lieu of dedication of land. The validity of some of these laws has been challenged in the courts and in some cases the challenger has won.

A "Planning Brief" in the July, 1956, *Newsletter* of the American Society of Planning Officials summarizes current developments related to this problem in several states.

The Washington legislature has passed a law requiring "appropriate provision" in subdivisions for parks and playgrounds. However, the attorney general of the state has held that it does not require either donation by subdividers

or holding of land for purchase and that property for schools and school grounds may be acquired only by eminent domain.

In Massachusetts, the law specifically states that communities cannot require dedications or fees. In Illinois, the attorney general has held that before a community may charge a fee or demand a dedication it must have a specific authorization from the state legislature.

Although many California cities have been requiring dedications or fees for park and recreation purposes, a state Senate interim committee has criticized this practice and recommended an amendment to the subdivision map act that would prohibit it in the future.

The case for the local officials receives better support in New York where town planning boards are authorized under law to require fees or straight dedications of land from subdividers for parks and playgrounds. In Multnomah County, Oregon, each subdivider is required to pay $37.50 per lot into a fund to be used for purchase of park land.

In Louisville and Jefferson counties in Kentucky there is a blend of the persuasive and the legal approaches; reservation of school sites is contingent on purchase by the school board, and subdividers are asked to provide space for playgrounds voluntarily.

Slum Clearance in Milwaukee

Cities undertaking slum clearance and redevelopment programs generally acquire title to the properties in the affected area through exercising their power of eminent domain which requires "just compensation" to the owners. In practice, such compensation has been based on the amount of income the property was producing for the owner, despite the fact that many of the buildings involved failed to meet legal standards for health and safety and were recognized as unsafe for occupancy. Demolition costs are also generally borne by the city.

A new approach to this problem is being tried in Milwaukee, Wisconsin, where the city has ordered the demolition—with the cost to be borne by the owner—of hundreds of slum buildings which have been found to be structurally unsound or otherwise in violation of the health and safety laws.

This is one of the first instances of practical application of a theory long advocated by some authorities in the slum clearance and redevelopment field who take the position that when a city is preparing to clear a slum area in which there are houses so structurally unsound and unsafe that they cannot be repaired, the city should not have to buy them and pay for having them removed. Since these houses violate the health and safety laws, the owners should have no claim on public funds for the loss of income they suffer when illegal houses come down.

New City Planning Department for Chicago

The city of Chicago will have a new planning department, serving directly under the mayor, and the membership of its present planning commission will be reduced from 34 to 15 under an ordinance which will take effect January 1, 1957. The department will be headed by a commissioner of city planning, appointed by the mayor and responsible to him for coordination of planning and developmental programs for the city. The staff of the present commission will work under his direction, and the newly formed, smaller planning commission will act only in an advisory capacity to the department. Membership of this commission will be comprised of nine citizens appointed by the mayor and six city officials—the mayor, the president of the board of local improvements, the commissioner of city planning, and the chairmen of three city council committees: finance, buildings and zoning, and planning and housing.

This organizational pattern reflects a change in the public and official attitudes generally with respect to the planning function. The practice of establishing the city planning agency as a policy advisory board, independent of the "official family," grew up in the early days of planning when it was primarily a citizens' movement. As planning has become more widely accepted as a full-time administrative function of local government, a number of municipalities have adopted the departmental plan as a way of bringing the planning staff into closer touch with the chief executive, the local legislative body, and other administrative departments.

Public Safety in Smaller Communities

A new study of municipal experience with public safety departments which combine in one office the work formerly done by separate fire and police departments suggests that the success of the arrangement stems in part from increasing emphasis in both fields on preventive work and the improvement and greater use of modern transportation and communications equipment by both services so that large stand-by forces are not so necessary as in the past.

A Frontier of Municipal Safety, by Charles S. James, a member of the staff of Public Administration Service, is a companion piece to his *Police and Fire Integration in the Small City,* published by PAS in 1955. In communities where only a fraction of the time of fire and police personnel is spent in fighting fires or investigating serious crimes, the merging of the two forces may almost double the man-hours available for routine inspection and patrol activity and for preventive educational work.

Fire and police personnel are generally widely acquainted with the people of the community and are accepted as authorities in their fields. They can bring the public safety story home to them because they can relate abstract principles to specific cases where life and property have been injured or lost.

Work with children is an especially fruitful area for these officers, and safety education should be coordinated with school programs. The author suggests that officers should be available to take part in classroom activities pertaining to public safety and to work informally with the children when classes are not in session. Rules for home fire prevention, crossing streets, operating bicycles, and disposing of rubbish should be emphasized. Cases where individual children are not conforming to good practices should be noted and followed up by home visits and joint conferences among officers, teacher, and parents.

A Frontier of Municipal Safety is available from Public Administration Service, 1313 East 60th Street, Chicago 37, Illinois. Price: $4.00.

Progress Toward Better City Budgeting

"Rapid progress is being made in the development of performance budgeting techniques," the Citizens Budget Commission, Inc., a citizen-supported research organization, has reported on the basis of questionnaire returns and the study of budget documents and manuals of 47 cities.

The CBC study was mainly a search for municipal cost data which could be used by other cities as a basis for analyzing their own governmental costs. The report emphasized that unit costs of government of different cities could not be directly compared, but that if budget items were broken into the same units a stimulating beginning to each city's own analysis would be available. Somewhat comparable cost figures offer each city administration a challenge—to compare its own figures and then determine the different conditions which make direct comparison inexact. It is the challenge and the resulting analysis rather than direct competition among cities that the Citizens Budget Commission feels is of value.

CBC found great interest among budget officers and city administrators in cost data from other cities and concluded that a clearing house to exchange this information rapidly and to encourage use of comparable cost units and reporting would be supported and used by many cities.

Of the 47 cities responding to the questionnaire, 32 are working on some form of unit cost analysis. Most of this analysis is of public works, but some attempt is being made to find cost units of other municipal operations.

The CBC report is mimeographed in two parts. The commission's address is 51 East 42nd St., New York 17, New York.

Smog Control—Case Study in Meeting a Problem

The governmental action taken to meet the pressing smog problem in Los Angeles County is sketched in *Smog Brief* No. 6 "Authority and Organization of the Air Pollution Control District," published by the Public Information and Education Division of the Air Pollution Control District, 434 South San Pedro, Los Angeles 13, California.

The report is a simplified case study describing the community and the legislative and administrative action that has been taken in the

twelve years since smog was recognized as a serious problem.

Punched Card Uses in Local Government

More and more cities and counties are turning to the use of punched card equipment, according to the Municipal Finance Officers Association, which keeps track of significant events in the government accounting field.

Lubbock, Texas, is using the equipment in the collection of utility bills and plans to extend the use to payroll accounting, general accounting, tax accounting, and corporation and court accounting. In Corpus Christi, Texas, punched card equipment has been used to make a cost analysis of 450 motor vehicles owned by the local government, enabling the city for the first time to have information showing the degree of depreciation on these vehicles.

The city of Chicago has started using a punched card unit which, while a clerk is typing a check, punches a tabulating card or series of cards which provides the basis for every subsequent analysis, listing, record, and summary required by all city departments involved. Every operation following the original writing is fully mechanized, thus eliminating the time, cost, and possible human error involved in copying, listing, posting, computing, balancing, interpreting, and verifying tabulating cards. The city has prepared a manual describing this new method, *A Procedure of Municipal Disbursements.*

Cook County, Illinois, used punched card equipment this year in preparing property assessments on 1,161,951 parcels of property representing an assessed valuation of more than $7 billion. The county plans to have a completely integrated tabulating system for assessment and other tax purposes in operation by 1958. Another Illinois county, DuPage, has installed a system that will automatically handle all phases of tax accounting.

Punched Card Primer, by Burton D. Friedman, recently published by Public Administration Service, 1313 East 60th Street, Chicago, Illinois (price: $3.50), reviews the advantages of the punched card process in speeding up record-keeping and reporting jobs and in increasing the value of office records. It also discusses facts that any public or private enterprise should consider before installing such equipment.

Street Renumbering Project

Peoria, Illinois, recently completed a project which involved changing 24,140 street addresses and 126 street names. The mechanics of this complicated change-over, which was started in 1952, are described in the July issue of *Public Management,* the monthly journal of the International City Managers' Association.

The new system is a grid pattern, with 1,200 numbers assigned to each mile measured from streets designated as starting points. This plan remedies a major defect of the old system under which most streets had been numbered from their own beginnings with the result that corresponding blocks on streets running parallel would frequently not have corresponding numbers.

About three-quarters of the city's streets were renumbered according to the new plan, the exceptions being chiefly the streets along the edge of the Illinois River. These run at a 45-degree angle to all other streets and retain their old numbers.

Peoria County began the renumbering in 1952 in the areas surrounding the city. The new numbering was later adopted by both city and county, and in August, 1955, 7,000 city house numbers were changed as part of a pilot project. Subsequent changes were scheduled so as to allow time for the Post Office to process all of the address changes before the Christmas rush. Lists showing the changes were given to utility companies, governmental agencies, and businesses, and the new addresses will appear in the current editions of the telephone and the city directories.

Costs of making the changes were about $23,500, including engineering, notification, postage, supplies, and follow-up calls, or slightly less than $1.00 per change. Before the addresses were altered, the city's street name system was simplified by eliminating duplications and reducing the number of different names.

As part of the entire program, 4,700 double-

faced, one-piece porcelain enamel signs have been installed, at a cost for signs, materials, and labor of about $30,000. Utility poles were used wherever possible for posting the signs, saving about $27,000, which individual new sign poles would have cost.

Recruiting Through Work-Study Programs

High school and college students who are interested in employment in the public service after graduation are being given a preview of the various opportunities open to them through a variety of work experience programs generally sponsored jointly by interested government authorities and officials of cooperating educational institutions. Recent issues of the newsletter of The Civil Service Assembly refer to three such programs carried on successfully during the past year. One of these, the New York state program, was reported in the Summer, 1956, *Review*, p. 247.

In Los Angeles, the city's Department of Water and Power, collaborating with the Civil Service Department, has established student engineer positions to provide summer jobs for sophomore and junior engineering students. Special attention is given to identifying future career opportunities open to these students and encouraging them to qualify for regular state appointments as professional engineers after graduation.

The local high school and the city government of Middletown, Ohio, sponsor an intern program under which members of the senior class volunteer to work two or more afternoons a week after school in city departments. The purposes of the program are (1) to interest students in possible careers in municipal government and (2) to acquaint them, and indirectly their parents, with the activities of the city government.

Thirty-five students participated in the program during the last school year, and a few of them were hired for temporary summer work afterward. Under the program the students indicate the offices or departments for which they would like to work and assignments conform as closely as possible to these interests. Department heads participate in the educational process by explaining the functions and activities under their supervision in relation to the student assignments. Students may spend all of their time in one department or may work in a number of different departments in order to get a broader view of the way in which the city government operates.

Results of FSEE

The U. S. Civil Service Commission has released preliminary figures on the 1955-56 results of the Federal Service Entrance Examination which last year replaced the JMA and a variety of other entrance examinations. (A group of three articles on the FSEE was published in the Spring, 1956, *Review*, pp. 1-14.)

Applications to take the new examination last year totaled more than 82,000, far exceeding expectations. Of this number, more than half, or 44,000, actually completed the written examinations and more than 23,000 passed, including 1,887 who passed the additional tests qualifying them for intern appointments and participation in agency training programs. Within six months of the time the first lists of eligibles had been established for use by federal agencies, more than 3,000 of the successful competitors had been placed and thousands more are still under consideration for appointment.

In contrast, according to a statement by Philip Young, chairman of the commission, the highest estimate of the number of new employees who entered federal service annually under the previously existing college-level examination system was only about 2,500 in a full year.

On the strength of last year's experience, written examinations are being held eight times during the current school term as compared with six times during the 1955-56 term. The first examination this year was held on October 13 and others are scheduled for November, January, February, April, May, July, and August.

College seniors, college graduates, and those with appropriate experience may apply at any time during the school year and after. If successful in the examination, they may be appointed to any one of a wide variety of entrance-level positions which will give them opportunity to prove their potential for

further advancement in a federal career. Those who pass an additional written test and an oral examination will also be eligible for the management intern positions which entitle them to receive special training designed to fit them for top administrative assignments.

NPA Poll on Federal Executive Compensation

A majority of those responding to a National Planning Association poll conducted in May, 1956, thought that salaries of top federal government executives are too low. Almost 60 per cent of the 800 members of NPA's board of trustees, standing committees, and National Council, constituting a cross section of leaders in agriculture, business, labor, and the professions, responded.

To the question, "On the whole, would you say executives of the Federal Government receive too little compensation, too much, or do they get just about the right amount?" responses were as follows: "Too little": agriculture, 61 per cent; business, 73 per cent; labor, 81 per cent; professions, 63 per cent; total, 71 per cent. "Too much": 2 per cent, 1 per cent, 0 per cent, 1 per cent, total: 1 per cent. "Right amount": 37 per cent, 19 per cent, 19 per cent, 32 per cent, total: 24 per cent.

"What compensation (including fringe benefits) should executives of the Federal Government get as compared with executives performing comparable services in private life? Should compensation be greater for government executives, less, or about the same?" "Greater": agriculture, 9 per cent; business, 12 per cent; labor, 17 per cent; professions, 5 per cent; total, 10 per cent. "Less": 37 per cent, 27 per cent, 15 per cent, 36 per cent, total: 30 per cent. "Same": 50 per cent, 56 per cent, 68 per cent, 55 per cent, total: 55 per cent.

"Regardless of the party in power, do you feel the Federal Government should have executives of greater competence than executives in private enterprise, lesser competence, or should they be about the same level of competence?" "Greater": agriculture, 52 per cent; business, 40 per cent; labor, 68 per cent; professions, 48 per cent; total, 48 per cent. "Less": 0 per cent, 1 per cent, 0 per cent, 1 per cent, total: 1 per cent. "Same": 44 per cent, 55 per cent, 32 per cent, 47 per cent, total: 48 per cent.

"What compensation should the highest Federal executives immediately below the President . . . receive in relation to the compensation for a member of Congress?" "More": agriculture, 70 per cent; business, 82 per cent; labor, 68 per cent; professions, 79 per cent; total, 78 per cent. "Same": 26 per cent, 11 per cent, 28 per cent, 17 per cent, total: 16 per cent. "Less": 2 per cent, 1 per cent, 2 per cent, 2 per cent, total, 2 per cent.

The final question asked the group to list the salary that they thought most appropriate for five different federal executive positions now paying $14,800-$22,500. For a secretary of an executive department, 76 per cent favored salaries over $25,000 and 28 per cent favored salaries over $50,000; administrative assistant to the President: 61 per cent suggested $25,000 or above; member of a federal board or commission: 67 per cent favored $20,000 or more; Assistant Secretary of a department: 59 per cent favored $20,000 or more; chief of an important bureau: 63 per cent suggested $20,000 or more.

The results of the poll are reported in *Looking Ahead,* monthly report of NPA, for June, 1956.

Grants for Research on Government

Research professorships in governmental affairs have been established at six universities—Columbia, Harvard, Princeton, Yale, the University of California at Berkeley, and the University of Chicago—with supporting grants from the Ford Foundation. The program provides for annual payments of $25,000 over an eight-year period to each of the universities for the salaries of a research professor and his assistants. Appointments to the professorships will be made by the grantee universities from their own faculty or from outside the university if they wish. Appointments are to be made on a rotating basis for a period of not more than two consecutive years for the same person.

Under this plan, recognized authorities will be released from teaching duties to devote their full time to independent research. The grants are intended to stimulate original research which will broaden and deepen fundamental understanding of our governmental processes

and to advance the research training of scholars serving as staff assistants.

Another program of grants in this field, also financed by the Ford Foundation, is being offered by the Social Science Research Council for a period of three years beginning this fall. This program, which was planned and will be administered by the Council's Committee on Political Behavior, is designed to extend knowledge of American governmental processes through the collection and analysis of new data obtained by field research and to further the training of young social scientists in the techniques of field research in the area of government. Grants are expected to range between $5,000 and $25,000, depending on the nature of the project.

The committee is interested in supporting studies of the political process at various levels of government and with reference to various aspects of the relationships among government officials and between government officials and private citizens and organizations.

Inquiries and requests for application forms for this program may be sent to the Council's Washington office, 726 Jackson Place, N.W., Washington 6, D. C. Closing date for the first applications was November 1, 1956, with awards to be announced by February 1, 1957. Applications for the second competition will be due on March 1, 1957.

Program for Military Supply Research

The Army Signal Supply Agency (formerly the Signal Corps Supply Agency), which has its main headquarters in Philadelphia, has invited the graduate students of a number of eastern colleges and universities located nearby to make use of its facilities in the conduct of research on governmental supply policies and administration. The agency is responsible for computing requirements, buying, and accepting for the government thousands of different items of electronic equipment for the Army and the other military services, its annual business with industry during peak years amounting to as much as $1 billion.

In order to stimulate interest in the field of military supply, the agency plans the annual publication of a list of suggested research subjects embracing organization and management, procurement, supply, distribution, quality control, and personnel. To insure maximum mutual benefit, a program coordinator has been appointed to maintain close liaison with the participating schools and students.

Inquiries regarding the program should be addressed to the Commanding General, The Army Signal Supply Agency, 225 South Eighteenth Street, Philadelphia 3, Pennsylvania, Attention of the Graduate Program Coordinator.

Generalist Training for Highway Administrators

Improved management of state and federal highway programs is the object of an extensive project initiated last summer by the National Highway Users Conference and the American Association of State Highway Officials.

The project began with an institute at Cornell University, July 16-20, 1956, attended by administrators from twenty-five state highway departments, the District of Columbia, and the federal Bureau of Public Roads. The states represented were Alabama, Arizona, California, Colorado, Connecticut, Delaware, Illinois, Iowa, Kansas, Kentucky, Maine, Massachusetts, Mississippi, Missouri, Nebraska, Nevada, New Hampshire, New York, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, Vermont, Virginia, Wisconsin, and Wyoming.

The discussions at Cornell were led by professors of administration, business, economics, and engineering, state and federal administrators, and staff of the National Highway Users Conference.

Their focus, on generalist administration, was set by the opening talk of Roy E. Jorgensen, engineering counsel of the National Highway Users Conference. "It is recognized," he said, "that the highway administrators generally are engineers, and that . . . they have not had the benefits of comparable activities in management." While the problems of highway department administrators involve engineering, frequently they are more concerned with general public administration problems.

Highway officials agreed, identifying their own problems as recruitment, retention of personnel, use of personnel skills, planning, public

and legislative relations, organization and methods analysis, work measurement, and use of up-to-date office equipment, among others.

A committee of the Highway Users Conference is studying the extension of training and information on public administration for highway officials. Recommendations at the Cornell institute included regional conferences, university extension and short courses, more research, publications, and a clearinghouse of information on highway administration.

The Proceedings and Discussion Highlights of Pilot Conference on Highway Management has been issued in mimeographed form by the sponsoring organizations, both of which are headquartered at the National Press Building, Washington 4, D. C.

Northwestern University Transportation Center

Northwestern University this fall inaugurated the first comprehensive program of education, consultation, and research on transportation. The Transportation Center will focus on interrelations of air, water, and land transportation, public policy, regulation, and economics. Course work leading to the Master's degree and special courses are offered; the most complete reference library in the field is planned.

Franklin M. Kreml, on leave from the Northwestern Traffic Institute, is director of the center. Fred G. Gurley, president of the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe Railroad, is chairman of the advisory committee.

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